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ABSTRACT

U.S. ethnic geography is an increasingly important focus of study due to cultural diversity and continued growth of the United States. Geographers are carefully studying the spatial aspects of present U.S. ethnic groups. This collection of essays addresses the important need for creating innovative approaches in teaching U.S. ethnic geography in universities and high schools. The essays are as follows: (1) "American Ethnic Geography and the National Geography Standards" (Lawrence E. Estaville; Carol J. Rosen; Richard G. Boehm); (2) "Defining Ethnicity through Surrogate Selection: The Nineteenth-Century Louisiana French" (Lawrence E. Estaville); (3) "A Conceptual Model for Teaching American Ethnic Geography" (Carol J. Rosen); (4) "Landscape as Text: Reading, Recording, and Interpreting Ethnic Landscapes" (Susan W. Hardwick; Jeanette Gardner Betts); (5) "Teaching Connections: Linking Ethnicity, Race, and Gender with the Environment in the College Classroom" (Kate A. Berry); (6) "Using Personal Accounts to Incorporate Ethnic Issues into Introductory College Human Geography" (Brock J. Brown); (7) "Ethnic Geography: Reflections on Initial Fears and Assignments That Worked" (Richard F. Hough); (8) "Focus on Local Area" (James P. Allen); (9) "The Urban Laboratory: Field-Based Teaching of Urban Ethnic Geography" (Ines M. Miyares); (10) "Hispano Ethnicity Viewed through the Window of El Cerrito" (Richard L. Nostrand); (11) "The Hispanic Borderlands: Blending Electronic Data and Field Experience into Five Elements from La Frontera" (Brady Foust; Howard Botts); (12) "Ethnicity: Lessons from the Field" (J. Douglas Heffington); (13) "The Native-American Experience: Teaching Facts instead of Fiction" (George A. Van Otten); (14) "Teaching American-Indian Geographies" (Robert A. Rundstrom); (15) "Teaching Environmental Conservation from a Native-American Perspective" (Martha L. Henderson); (16) "Using Maps in American Ethnic Geography" (James P. Allen); (17) "Geoethnic Family Histories" (Curtis C. Roseman; J. Diego Vigil); and (18) "Teaching American Ethnic Geography through Popular Film" (Lawrence E. Estaville). (BT)

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National Council for
Geographic Education

TEACHING AMERICAN ETHNIC GEOGRAPHY

Lawrence E. Estaville and
Carol J. Rosen
Editors

SO 029 718

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A PATHWAYS IN GEOGRAPHY
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Geographic Education

TEACHING AMERICAN ETHNIC GEOGRAPHY

Lawrence E. Estaville and
Carol J. Rosen
Editors

The PATHWAYS IN GEOGRAPHY series has been created by the Special Publications Advisory Board of the National Council for Geographic Education to support the teaching and learning of themes, concepts, and skills in geography at all levels of instruction.

PATHWAYS IN GEOGRAPHY Series Title No. 18

Teaching American Ethnic Geography
Lawrence E. Estaville and Carol J. Rosen, Editors

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PART I: INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

American Ethnic Geography and the National Geography Standards

Lawrence E. Estaville, Carol J. Rosen, and Richard G. Boehm

American ethnic geography is becoming an increasingly important focus of study as the population of the United States grows more diverse. Indeed, during the twenty-first century, the American population will become so diverse that there will be no majority ethnic group (De Vita 1996). To understand better these changing national demographics, geographers are carefully studying the spatial aspects of many of today's American ethnic groups. Concomitantly, geography teachers are searching for new strategies and methods to share effectively this geographic information about ethnic groups with students across the nation. This volume addresses the important need of creating innovative approaches in teaching American ethnic geography to students in universities and high schools.

Parts I and II

Teaching American Ethnic Geography has five parts: (1) Introduction, (2) Concepts and Concerns, (3) Study Areas and Field Work, (4) Teaching about Native-American Perspectives, and (5) Ethnic Geography through Maps, Family, and Film. In Part II, Concepts and Concerns, six ethnic geographers consider the meaning of ethnic geography and lay the groundwork for teaching the basic concepts of American ethnic geography. Lawrence E. Estaville examines the complexity of the concept of ethnicity, specifically focusing on the nineteenth-century Louisiana French. He underscores the lack of comparable operational definitions of ethnicity in geographic research and suggests that it may be more profitable for teachers to use surrogates of ethnicity to guide their students in exploring the richness of American ethnic geography. Placing ethnic geography into a larger framework of diversity studies, Carol Rosen develops a conceptual model with five pedagogical goals for teaching ethnic geography. At the center of her model are the core values of awareness, understanding, and respect. Susan W. Hardwick and Jeanette Gardner Betts work within the dialectic of community and diversity to offer a learning activity that draws on constructivist and collaborative thinking. Their students study ethnic landscapes through metacognition, a self-conscious process of the formation of knowledge, and continuous critical thinking. Kate A. Berry opens an innovative avenue of active learning for students by linking ethnicity, race, and gender with the environment. The students analyze local and national print media to discover important associations of these concepts in ongoing news coverage. Brock J. Brown brings ethnicity to the personal level. Students read accounts of personal experiences of ethnic minority individuals to gain a fuller realization of what it means to be a part of those ethnic groups. Richard F. Hough completes the first part of the book by reflecting on his initial fears when he began to teach ethnic geography at a university in the exceptionally cosmopolitan city of San Francisco and by sharing some of the learning methods he found to be successful. His final advice section is an underlying sentiment of this volume: "...put aside your concerns and go for it."

Part III

James P. Allen leads off Part III, Study Areas and Field Work, with a look at field study in urban ethnic enclaves in Los Angeles. Before engaging ethnic groups in the field, his students map ethnic distributions via United States census data. A continent away, Ines M. Miyares develops a

method for student investigation of New York City's ethnic neighborhoods by combining census data and field work. She asks her students, for example: "How Russian is Brighton Beach?" Like Allen and Miyares, Brady Foust and Howard Botts have their students use United States census data on CD-ROM to construct ethnic maps on computers before journeying into the field. Students take firsthand their maps of ethnicity, language, economic conditions, religion, toponyms, and surnames to the Hispanic Borderlands of the southwestern United States and take away a new geographical appreciation of the region's ethnic groups. El Cerrito, a small Hispano village snuggled on the eastern slope of New Mexico's Sangre de Cristo mountains, is dear to the heart and mind of Richard L. Nostrand as a field laboratory for getting his students to think geographically about the Hispanos. In his classic five-day field trip, he guides his students through space and time and through ten geographical themes about the Hispanos. The final field excursion offered in this book is both spatially and culturally far away from New Mexico's plazas, adobe houses, and red chilies as J. Douglas Heffington drives his students along the Blues Highway through Mississippi's Delta region with its shotgun houses, cotton gins, and corn bread. Before traveling to the Delta, his students learn to interpret the landscape with brief trips to nearby ethnic places in Tennessee.

Part IV

Teaching about Native-American Perspectives, Part IV, examines more deeply strategies for teaching about a particular American ethnic group. George A. Van Otten succinctly enumerates several myths and outlines a body of misinformation about Native Americans, their lands and landscapes, and their contributions to American society. His plea is for teachers to learn about the new interpretations of Native-American culture and to incorporate them into their courses. American-Indian geographies—places and people—are key to Robert A. Rundstrom's teaching about the diversity of Native-American life today. He guides his students through notable literary adventures that bring home new understandings and connections with Indian ways. Through the eyes of William Goodbear of the Winnebago Tribe and within the frameworks of bioregionalism and social justice, Martha L. Henderson teaches her students about environmental conservation. Along with observational skills, critical thinking, and consensus building, she suggests that, for students to understand more fully our environmental problems, teachers must impart to their students the ability to listen to their neighbors in their communities and teachers must then encourage students to take part in these important political and social conversations.

Part V

In Part V, Ethnic Geography through Maps, Family, and Film, three ethnic geographers complete the anthology with quite different student learning exercises. James P. Allen considers ethnic maps at three scales: world, regional, and neighborhood. Maps are a part of the essence of geography, and as such, he emphasizes their importance in comprehending the spatial aspects of American ethnic groups. Throughout this volume, scholars have repeatedly highlighted the critical coupling of geography and history, and Curtis C. Roseman and J. Diego Vigil exploit this bond to detail a method for student investigation of their geoethnic family histories. Students incorporate important ethnic geography concepts into a project that depends on census data, local histories, and accounts by family relatives to "learn new ways of thinking about ethnicity and place." Most people enjoy watching good movies, and Lawrence E. Estaville argues that, because of their wide appeal, popular films can be influential vehicles in teaching American ethnic geography. He presents four film-viewing methods for students, avenues of critical thinking, and a list of some of the popular films he has shown in his American ethnic geography classes.

Geography for Life: National Geography Standards

Geography for Life: National Geography Standards (1994) is a landmark work that is changing the landscape of geographic education across the nation.[1] *Teaching American Ethnic Geography* incorporates five of the six essential elements that form the organizational basis of *Geography for Life:* (1) The World in Spatial Terms, (2) Places and Regions, (3) Human Systems, (4) Environment and Society, and (5) The Uses of Geography. Only the essential element of Physical Systems is considered indirectly in this book on ethnic geography. Moreover, almost all of the eighteen geography standards are woven throughout the fabric of *Teaching American Ethnic Geography.*

A number of examples demonstrate clear linkages between *Geography for Life* and *Teaching American Ethnic Geography.* Teachers should ensure that Standard 2, "How to use mental maps to organize information about people, places, and environments in a spatial context," is central to teaching about American ethnic groups. Mental maps are the foundations upon which students learn, and many times their perceptions are distorted or completely false, based on biases and fears. To get students to appreciate Rosen's core values of awareness and understanding, students must first examine their perceptions of ethnic groups and where these groups tend to live.

Culture molds our perceptions, a truism addressed by Standard 6, "How culture and experience influence people's perceptions of places and regions." Teachers should know their students' cultural roots so they can improve their exploration of the traits, perspectives, and values that help to shape distinctive ethnic places. Van Otten emphasizes that teachers must themselves learn new interpretations about Native Americans and their homelands so students of different cultures can, in Rundstrom's words, gain new understandings and connections.

Standard 9, "The characteristics, distribution, and migration of human populations on Earth's surface," and Standard 12, "The processes, patterns, and functions of human settlement," are important topics regarding American ethnic groups for students to investigate. Study Areas and Field Work, Part III of *Teaching American Ethnic Geography,* focuses on these two geography standards, sharing both pedagogic as well as substantive ideas about Allen's ethnic enclaves in Los Angeles, Miyares's Russian neighborhood in New York City, Foust's and Botts's Hispanic Borderlands, Nostrand's New Mexican Hispanos, and Heffington's African Americans in the Mississippi Delta Region. The migrations of these ethnic groups to new American settlements and subsequent spatial movements and population expansions are obviously critical to understanding ethnic geography in the United States. Indeed, Roseman's and Vigil's geoethnic family histories captivate students who trace the migrations of their families to the United States through space and time, and Hardwick and Betts have their students carefully interpret some of these consequent ethnic landscapes.

Standard 13 considers "How forces of cooperation and conflict among people influence the division and control of Earth's surface." Such cooperation and conflict pervade American ethnic geography. Brown asks his students to try to understand the personal conflicts and struggles of individuals of minority heritage; Henderson wants students to cooperate with their ethnic neighbors to conserve more effectively our environment; and both ethnic cooperation and conflict are major themes of Estaville's popular films.

Standard 14, "How human actions modify the physical environment," is explicit to ethnic geography. Ethnic groups imprint their cultures upon physical environments, creating cultural landscapes that irreversibly change the original milieu. Yet, perhaps the fundamental question, not only about environment and society relationships but about human interactions as well, is manifested in Standard 18, "How to apply geography to interpret the present and plan for the future." In attempting to answer this question, the contributors to *Teaching American Ethnic Geography* follow Berry's credo in teaching connections—everything is connected to everything else—and by

[1] Available from the National Council for Geographic Education, 16A Leonard Hall, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, Indiana, PA 15705, $7.00 plus postage and handling.

putting aside what Hough calls initial fears to become innovators in our classrooms, bringing our students new data, tools, and interpretations about American ethnic groups and then letting them learn about our wonderful diversity firsthand. If we are successful in these teaching endeavors, we should be confident that our students will create a better world for us all.

Teaching American Ethnic Geography

The seventeen chapters in *Teaching American Ethnic Geography* draw from an eclectic array of perspectives but all, in their own ways, expand on important concepts of ethnic geography and share innovative teaching methods. We believe melding the ideas in this anthology with the currency and power of the geography standards will be a winning combination for teaching American ethnic geography.

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PART II: CONCEPTS AND CONCERNS

CHAPTER 2

Defining Ethnicity through Surrogate Selection: The Nineteenth-Century Louisiana French

Lawrence E. Estaville

Ethnicity is a complex concept. A concept that both researchers and teachers need to define carefully. Yet, from the examination of 65 sociological and anthropological studies, Isajiw (1974) concluded that the work of most ethnic researchers never explicitly define the meaning of ethnicity. In his inquiry only 13 scholars had devised operational definitions of the concept. Denotations of ethnicity abound, however. Isajiw (1974: 111-113) also scrutinized 27 characteristics of ethnicity from other more theoretical works. Through this latter investigation, he listed, in order of frequency of occurrence, principal attributes of ethnic groups:

	Attributes	Frequency
(1)	Common national or geographic origin or common ancestors	12
(2)	Same culture or customs	11
(3)	Religion	10
(4)	Race or physical characteristics	9
(5)	Language	6
(6)	Consciousness of kind: "we feeling," sense of peoplehood, loyalty	4
(7)	*Gemeinschaft* [ethnic membership]	4
(8)	Common values or ethos	3
(9)	Separate institutions	3
(10)	Minority or subordinate status or majority or dominant status	2
(11)	Immigrant group	1
(12)	Other	5

Isajiw's enumeration was not too unlike the listing by Thernstrom, Orlov, and Handlin in their *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (1980: vi):

(1) Common geographic origin
(2) Migratory status
(3) Race
(4) Language or dialect
(5) Religious faith or faiths
(6) Ties that transcend kinship, neighborhood, and community boundaries
(7) Shared traditions, values, and symbols
(8) Literature, folklore, and music
(9) Food preferences
(10) Settlement and employment patterns
(11) Special interests in regard to politics in the homeland and in the U. S.
(12) Institutions that specifically serve and maintain the group
(13) An internal sense of distinctiveness
(14) An external perception of distinctiveness

These inventories leave little doubt that ethnicity is enormously intricate. In devising a definition of ethnicity, Isajiw (1974) tried to simplify matters by categorizing his 27 examples as either "objective" denotations that delimit involuntarily socialized groups of people possessing common ancestral origins and cultural traits or "subjective" definitions that mark groups of people with psychological self-identities or identities that others ascribe to them. His specific definition of

North American ethnicity became:

> an involuntary group of people who share the same culture or to descendants of such people who identify themselves and/or are identified by others as belonging to the same involuntary group (1974: 122).

Although Isajiw's incisive analysis to conceptualize a composite theoretical standard for ethnicity was provocative, it seemed quite similar to Gordon's (1964) and Barth's (1969) denotative ideas, and it has not become a magical wand making all other characterizations disappear, obsolete, or nonoperational. Indeed Wright, Rossi, and Juravich (1980: 957) have since warned of an operational methodological trap that has snared ethnic researchers not only in the predicament of surrogate selection but also in the pragmatic plight of valid variable measurement:

> With no generally agreed-upon definition of ethnicity, survey researchers are free to define this concept more or less as they wish. The operational definition can then be made according to the optimal use of the cases available for analysis. What constitutes optimal use varies considerably from one survey to the next, as does the operational definition of ethnicity. This greatly impedes the comparison of findings between studies and poses a distinct barrier to cumulative knowledge in this field.

A similar lack of comparable operational definitions of ethnicity seems to exist within geography. Few ethnic geographers, furthermore, have considered the subjective, internal, or external ascriptive method of delimiting ethnic groups. Most geographers have instead equated ethnic groups with Barth's culture-bearing units alone, possibly because of geography's proclivity to investigate landscapes filled with cultural artifacts. This methodological bias has not precluded, however, delineating ethnic groups through a subjectively ascriptive approach. Nostrand (1973), for instance, framed a self-referent survey that has done exactly that in his imaginative article, "'Mexican American' and 'Chicano': Emerging Terms for a People Coming of Age." Adopting the subjective mode has nevertheless presented obvious restrictions when searching for past ethnic structures and their development. Yet it can be done as Lemon (1972) adeptly demonstrated in his painstakingly researched but fruitful historical analysis gleaned from contemporary accounts concerning the perceptions of European ethnic groups in eighteenth-century southeastern Pennsylvania.

Ethnic Surrogates of the Nineteenth-Century Louisiana French

To focus on my research specialty on the Louisiana French, I have constructed an enumeration that is more specific than those of Isajiw (1974) and Thernstrom, Orlov, and Handlin (1970). I divided these ethnic surrogates into tangible and intangible and parenthetically provide some Louisiana French examples:

1. Tangible (material relics)
   a. toponyms (bayou, *brulé, coteau, écore,* French town names)
   b. land survey systems (arpent system)
   c. farm morphology (long lots)
   d. urban morphology (?)
   e. structures/architecture (Creole or Cajun houses, Roman Catholic churches, cypress paling fences)
   f. economic artifacts (French ovens, pirogues, moss gins, crawfish ponds)
   g. folk occupations (fur trapping, moss ginning, crawfishing)
   h. foods and food preparation (*filé,* okra, *boudin, étouffé,* gumbo, *couche couche*)
   i. clothing (*garde-soleil*)
   j. folk art (?)
   k. festivals and social gatherings (Mardi Gras, *fais do-do, boucherie, coup de main, le veille*)
   l. sports and games (cock fighting, bourré)
   m. newspapers (French language)
2. Intangible (written records)
   a. written accounts of tangible markers (maps, plats, blueprints, recipes, patterns, music, plans, rules, newspapers, surveys, censuses)
   b. folklore (*traiteurs, gris gris, feu follet*)

c. ethnic perceptions (archival papers, diaries, newspaper reports)
d. political officeholders and election results (French sheriffs, mayors, judges, marshals, census enumerators)
e. language (French and varying patois)
f. nativity/national origin (France)
g. religion (Roman Catholic)
h. race (white)
i. surname (Arceneaux, Decuir, Fontenot, etc.)

With the exception of past perceptions drawn from written descriptions, this inventory is strictly comprised of Isajiw's objective ethnic attributes.

To undertake research about the nineteenth-century Louisiana French for the years 1820, 1860, and 1900, I developed a set of criteria to select appropriate ethnic surrogates: (1) availability of data, (2) highly time-specific data, (3) data able to measure relative intensity (ratio level), and (4) spatial indicators universally and continuously associated with the Louisiana French through time. Checking each of the foregoing tangible ethnic markers against the selection criteria suggested no satisfaction.

Such economic artifacts as French ovens, for instance, offered data that were neither highly time-specific, measurable at the ratio level, nor associated with all Louisiana French at one time much less through time. French toponyms and French-language newspapers were the most encouraging ethnic diagnostics within the tangible group, yet they could not be quantified to measure relative intensity.

Of the intangible surrogates, written records of tangible reflectors, folklore, and ethnic perceptions met the same fate as those of the tangible nature. On the other hand, political officeholders and election results held promise. Because of the paucity of data for officeholders at the parish (county) level before the Civil War and because statewide French versus Anglo elections took place only in antebellum Louisiana, I eliminated them. Language, certainly a prime ethnic indicator, could not be counted on because the only record of particular usage was the 1900 manuscript census, and it enumerated only English speakers. Most of the nineteenth-century Louisiana French population was Louisiana-born, thereby negating the importance of foreign nativity as a mirror of ethnicity. I discounted information concerning Roman Catholicism, another important French marker, because data were available only for 1860 and 1900, and it was also the religion of such other ethnic groups as the Irish, Germans, and Italians, all of whom continued to migrate by the thousands into Louisiana throughout the nineteenth century.

This elimination procedure left only race and surname, and both met all the demands of the selecting criteria. Yet, notwithstanding that race appears in the foregoing lists of ethnic attributes by Isajiw and Thernstrom, Orlov, and Handlin, I believe race, a biological-based concept, is not an accurate indicator of ethnicity, a cultural-based concept. Both whites and blacks participate in the Louisiana French culture. In this particular research, nevertheless, because enumerators recorded many free blacks and mulattoes without surnames in the antebellum manuscript schedules and because they followed the dominant white Anglo or French cultures in Louisiana, I incorporated race merely as a first-stage filter in defining the Louisiana French. Surnames of whites then became the critical ethnic surrogate. In other words, from the manuscript census schedules I identified Louisiana French by their white race and French surnames.

Much ethnic research, including that of geographers such as Jakle and Wheeler (1969), Jordan (1969), Lemon (1972), Meigs (1941), Meinig (1969, 1971), Nostrand (1970), and Villeneuve (1972), have relied upon family names to mark ethnicity. This predilection, however, has not been without inherent error: (1) Surname is only a singular surrogate of the multivariate manifestation of ethnicity; (2) cognate names could have changed to the prevalent language form, for instance, Johnson to Jeansonne, or Weiss to LeBlanc to White, or Bourque to Bourke; (3) immigrants have shortened non-English family names—Wysynski to Wise or Comeaux to Comau to Como, for example; (4) such French surnames as Bernard, David, Martin, and Richard cannot be distinguished from their English counterparts; (5) with respect to the Louisiana French, Anglo surnames

discounted French females who were salient socializing agents in early mixed Anglo-French marriages; and (6) early assimilation of Anglo family heads into the Louisiana French culture and vice versa as time went on could cause some classification confusion.

Surnames judiciously used as the prime ethnic surrogate in careful combination with such other clues as given names, nativity (1860, 1900), parentage (1900), and English language usage (1900) from the manuscript census schedules, however, has resulted in ethnic classification more trustworthy than that of the American Council of Learned Societies' Committee on Linguistic and National Stock in the Population of the United States. In 1931 the committee depended upon 1790 manuscript census cognate names to determine immigration quotas and concluded, if prudently analyzed, surnames could supply a reasonably reliable rendering of foreign heritage.

Conclusion

Ethnicity is indeed intrinsically complex. Surrogates of ethnicity, either individually or in some combination, that identify ethnic groups can help teachers improve their understanding and thereby their teaching of ethnic geography. In this volume on teaching American ethnic geography, other geographers formulate their operational definitions of ethnicity and derive measurable surrogates of ethnicity that can be applied through space and time. Teachers can use the lists of ethnic surrogates and possible sources of information about them that are outlined in this chapter and those discussed in the following chapters to guide their students in exploring the richness of American ethnic geography.

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CHAPTER 3

A Conceptual Model for Teaching Ethnic Geography

Carol J. Rosen

Many universities and colleges, as well as high schools, are currently implementing new programs that require student exposure to some aspects of ethnic diversity in the United States. Teachers engaged in developing diversity courses are often required to address one or all of these topics: (1) discrimination against ethnic and racial groups in American society; (2) cultural and historical experiences of ethnic and racial groups in the United States; and (3) discrimination, cultural differences, and ethnicity in settings that increase the understanding of cultural, ethnic, or racial problems in the United States. The groups most often studied in diversity courses are Native Americans, African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans (Lyall 1994).

The discipline of geography has traditionally addressed many aspects of ethnicity and can contribute a significant body of knowledge to the development of diversity courses. In most cases, however, the diversity requisite asks for an explicit framework that incorporates value-centered topics (for example, those listed above) into the course content. This value-centered approach is standard to multicultural education, and the conceptual model proposed here links the geographic approach to ethnic studies with that of multicultural education. (Some basic references for multicultural education include Banks 1995; Bennett 1991; Fergusen 1987; and Friedman 1996.)

The Conceptual Model: Goals, Standards, and Content

Figure 3.1 suggests a conceptual framework for teaching ethnic geography as a diversity course. The core values are in the center of the illustration, and the primary goals radiate from these values. Each goal is united with one or more of the national geography standards enumerated in *Geography for Life* (1994). In addition, some interrelationships between diversity studies and world geography or global perspectives courses appear in Figure 3.2 because their content is applicable to the broad, comprehensive curriculum typical of most geography or social studies programs. This model is admittedly very idealistic and it is intended to encourage students to develop as citizens, consider alternative viewpoints, and critically examine their own values and those of other cultures.

Goal 1. Increase Awareness of Ethnicity and its Influence on Place

Standard 10. The characteristics, distribution, and complexity of Earth's cultural mosaics; Standard 12. The processes, patterns, and functions of human settlement.

Students can understand an ethnic landscape as a complex system shaped by social customs, values and attitudes, language, religion, technology, and the many other components that characterize a group of people. A particular ethnic landscape can be identified and studied at a variety of scales and often through several periods of time. The dynamics of space and time are important when considering the interaction among several ethnic groups that create a community within a given region. Through field study, students can appreciate the variety of ways in which people live and they can learn to identify the role that ethnicity plays in the spatial organization of a neighborhood or community that may be very different from their own. The understanding of the many ways in which different groups organize space is a primary component to the study of ethnic geography and to the many relationships between people and place in a multicultural society.

Goal 2. Expand the Curriculum to Include Multiple Historical and Cultural Perspectives

Standard 6. How culture and experience influence people's perceptions of places and regions.

CONCEPTUAL MODEL FOR TEACHING ETHNIC GEOGRAPHY

Goals

1
Increase awareness of ethnicity and its influence on place.
(Standards 10, 12)

2
Expand the curriculum to include multiple historical and cultural perspectives.
(Standard 6)

Core Values

- Awareness of prejudice and discrimination
- Understanding multiple historical and cultural perspectives
- Respect for human rights, ability to link local to global events

Goals

3
Develop an understanding of the dynamics of cultural convergence and divergence.
(Standards 9, 13)

4
Develop the ability to integrate objective and subjective information.
(Standard 1)

5
Recognize stereotyping not only of groups but also of places.
(Standards 5, 6)

Figure 3.1. A Conceptual Model for Teaching Ethnic Geography

SELECTED TOPICS AND INTERCONNECTIONS

DIVERSITY	GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES
U. S. Cultural Diversity	Human Mosaic of World Cultures
Civil Rights	Human Rights
Prejudice and Discrimination in the U. S.	Impact of Colonization in the Developing World
Appreciation and Celebration of Cultural Diversity	International Studies, Travel Experiences
Participation as Local Citizens	Role of the United Nations and Other World Organizations
Use of Subjective Sources to Understand Immigration	Migration Issues, Impact of Warfare on Population Distribution

Figure 3.2. Selected Topics and Interconnections

Expanding the curriculum involves the inclusion of both minority and nonminority viewpoints, as well as the contributions of varied groups to historical and contemporary culture. Students should be able to move beyond readily identifiable cultural traditions (food preferences, significant holidays, clothing styles, and housing types) to understand the diversity of viewpoints held by members of different ethnic groups. In turn, students should consider how their own traditions and ideas might be perceived by others. Ethnicity alone may not explain how people perceive places and regions, but an accurate analysis of an ethnic group's view about the environment (or other issues) can deepen understanding and provide a basis for cooperation and problem solving.

Goal 3. Develop Understanding of the Dynamics of Cultural Convergence and Divergence

Standard 9. The characteristics, distribution, and migration of human populations on Earth's surface; Standard 13. How the forces of cooperation and conflict among people influence the division and control of Earth's surface.

One of the most exciting and important components involved in the study of ethnicity is the complexity of relationships between groups of people in places throughout the world. The study of ethnic groups within the U. S. should encourage an analysis and understanding of how problems facing people in other parts of the world can affect a local community. In Figure 3.2., I suggest some logical interrelations between diversity studies and global perspectives Migrations and their concomitant push-pull factors are some of the most relevant and integral topics of ethnic studies. Equally important is to understand how the movement of people from one place to another alters physical and cultural landscapes. In turn, the human interactions that result from migrations can ultimately modify the culture of ethnic groups. These interactions may occur at different scales and through several layers of time. Encouraging a global perspective and identifying spatial connections ensures that ethnicity is not necessarily viewed as isolated and decisive but is connected within a globally interdependent world.

Goal 4. Develop the Ability to Integrate Objective and Subjective Information

Standard 1. How to use maps and other geographic representations, tools, and technologies to acquire, process, and report information from a spatial perspective.

The study of ethnicity lends itself well to helping students combine objective and subjective sources. Geographers commonly derive distributions of ethnic groups (for example, the identification of an ethnic neighborhood within a large urban area) from demographic data provided by the U. S. Census Bureau or other computerized databases. From these objective data, we can produce maps or demographic projections for future needs, such as schools or housing. Students must also recognize that, in reality, people are not neatly divided into census categories and that additional subjective sources are essential to the comprehensive analysis of a group of people. Literature, guest lectures, videos, historic photographs, field trips, music, oral histories, letters, and diaries are some of the best means of discovering ethnic perspectives. Students can also interview family members or friends to acquire an understanding of migration history, contemporary culture, or a particular world view. Students should be able to understand both the objective and subjective viewpoints and formulate connections between them.

Goal 5. Recognize Stereotyping of Ethnic Groups as well as Places

Standard 5. That people create regions to interpret Earth's complexity; Standard 6. How culture and experience influence people's perceptions of places and regions.

Stereotypes about people and places are based on incomplete, superficial, or erroneous information. Teachers of diversity courses can unintentionally reinforce stereotypes about an ethnic group unless they pay attention to differences *within* each group. Knowledge of social class, gen-

der, age, and other factors that interact *within a specific group* are also essential considerations. Regions and places are likewise subject to stereotyping; for instance, newspapers and television reports often emphasize and over-dramatize the negative aspects of ethnic neighborhoods. A perceptual region based on stereotypes (either overly negative or positive) does little to enhance geographic understanding. The study of ethnic geography, particularly the experiential learning gained from field courses, can contribute to eliminating stereotypes about people and places.

Conclusion

Ultimately, the knowledge provided from a value-centered study of ethnic geography will contribute to the understanding of important issues facing our world, and by improving students preparation they will be able to contribute their solutions to global as well as local problems. Teachers who develop diversity courses must evaluate the traditional base of geographic knowledge provided by the National Geography Standards and consider the philosophical and educational foundations of multicultural education:

> The belief that the study of things geographical contributes to developing good citizens, and that geography by its very nature leads to international understanding may be cited as examples of geography's concern for fostering certain attitudes and values. Indeed, such claims and concerns may be seen as part of the ongoing development of a justification and rationale for geography in education grounded in what at one time is educationally worthwhile and socially desirable (Slater 1993: 109).

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CHAPTER 4

Landscape as Text: Reading, Recording, and Interpreting Ethnic Landscapes

Susan W. Hardwick and Jeanette Gardner Betts

> Having arrived in North America, the immigrant faced the necessity of selecting and employing cultural elements that would prove advantageous in the new environment.
>
> Allen G. Noble 1992

> The neat distinction between individualism and community thus generates a dialectic in which each is a condition for the other.
>
> Iris Young 1986

> Finding voice, then, is not only an aspect of the writing process, but a spiritual event as well. To find voice, and to mediate personal voice in a community of others, is one of the central dialectics of the peaceable classroom.
>
> Mary Louise Pratt 1993

Recent concern with ethnic issues in the news media, in public and private discussions, and in classrooms across the country has focused attention on the importance of teaching and learning ethnic geography now more than ever before. This important subfield of the discipline has grown by leaps and bounds over the course of the past decade in response to this concern about solving problems and enhancing opportunities brought on by increased diversity in our nation's K-12 schools and college and university classrooms.

This chapter summarizes an innovative learning activity in ethnic geography. Pedagogies employed in this activity include an emphasis on constructivist thinking, collaborative learning, independent student research, and enhancement of field observation techniques. Students also have ample opportunities to use both analytical and critical thinking throughout the process. The activity presented here is action-based, interactive, and collaborative. It also involves student-generated writing in support of educational reform efforts in the past two decades to integrate writing across the disciplines.

Strategies central to the success of this activity are grounded in recent pedagogical theories that emphasize (1) varying student learning styles and abilities; (2) the importance of working within the dialectic of community and diversity; and (3) the widely divergent instructional needs of underrepresented students common in today's increasingly diverse educational settings (see Levasseur 1993). Students are encouraged to look carefully at their data, discuss it with a small group of their peers, then look back at their data and conclusions again. Individual speculations developed in the first stages of this activity are re-thought, re-visioned, and re-cast as collaborative groups of diverse students discuss and re-order their findings. Looking and looking again form the heart of pedagogies guiding the development of this activity. This process, called metacognition by psychologists and educational theorists, greatly enhances student learning (Forrest *et al.* 1985). According to educator Ann Berthoff (1987: 14-15):

> Looking is the *sine qua non* of inquiry; looking again is the method of inquiry. This willingness to entertain further questions, to return to assumptions, to re-assess what has been given or asserted is entailed in learning to think.

Cultural geographers are especially well suited to the use of the innovative pedagogies described in this activity. Because humanistic scholars in our discipline are interested in the way people may view their own personal geographies, understanding and applying constructivist approaches fit well within the purview of the field. Ethnic geographers, in particular, often focus

on the importance of understanding the evolving dialectic of diversity and community in both research and teaching. This learning activity, therefore, builds on strengths inherent in the study of geography as well as in recently developed social and educational theories now used in related disciplines.

Analyzing Ethnic Landscapes

The study of ethnic landscapes is one of the key ingredients that helps students understand ethnic patterns and processes on the land. Well known cultural geographers, such as Arreola (1988, 1992); Carlson (1990); Conzen (1990); Kaups (1995); Kniffen (1936); Lamme (1995); Jordan and Kaups (1989); Jordan (1985); Lowenthal (1982); Nostrand (1970, 1992); and Zelinsky (1973), and others have focused a great deal of attention on the study of distinctive ethnic signatures in North America. Of particular note is Allen Noble's book, *Ethnic Landscapes in North America* (1992). This seminal publication on the settlement forms of diverse immigrant groups in the United States and Canada provides an overview of landscape analysis accomplished by ethnic geographers in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Noble's important book and numerous other studies shed new light on the meaning and structure of settlement forms created by ethnic and racial groups in both rural and urban areas of North America (see, for example, Curtis 1980; Desbarats 1979; Hardwick 1993; Jordan 1980; Kaups 1995; Ward 1977; and, most recently, Roseman *et al.* 1995).

Landscape features thus provide evidence of migration, cultural backgrounds, and settlement patterns of the people who create them. House types, barns, fences, and other residential forms offer a fascinating template that records the settlement histories of various groups. Public buildings, such as religious structures and commercial establishments, often contribute to the diversity of local landscapes as well (Fig. 4.1). When students have the opportunity to observe, record, and analyze these structures and other distinctive features of their local areas, a clearer under-

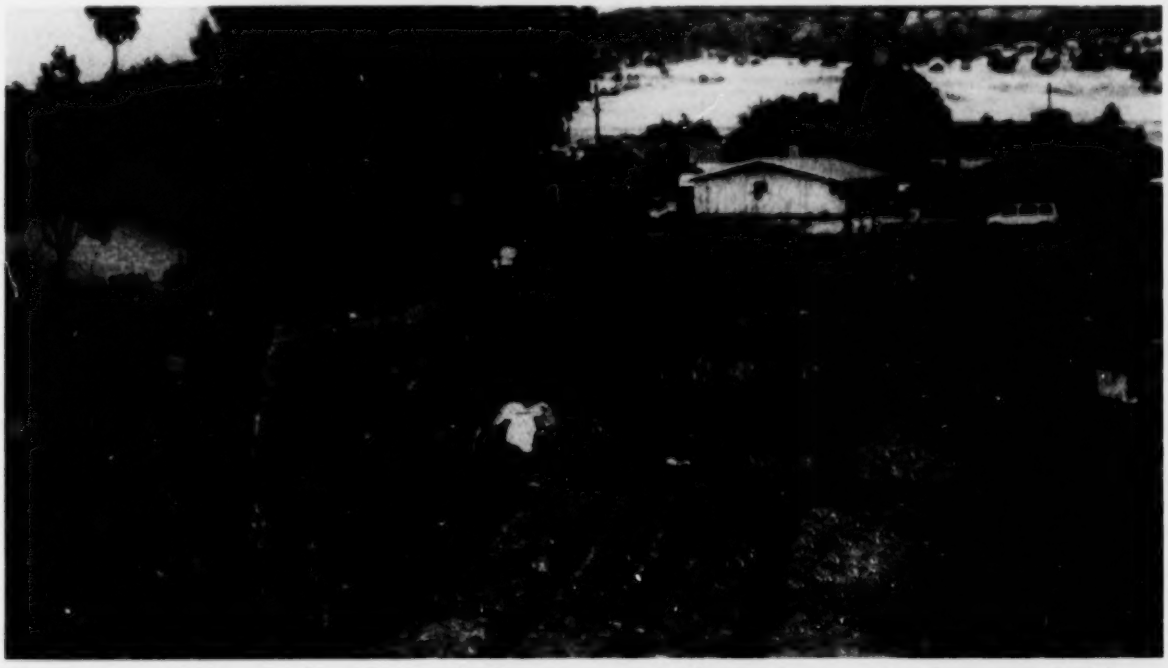

Figure 4.1. Ethnic Landscapes in the Sacramento Valley: A Hmong Garden near Redding, California

standing of both the ethnic experience and the evolving geography of their community occurs.

Objectives of the Learning Activity

This student-centered learning activity is grounded in basic concepts, themes, and standards central to teaching and learning ethnic geography. Specific objectives include:

1. To broaden students' understanding of key geographic concepts, themes, and standards related to ethnic geography (e.g., push-pull factors, chain migration, environmental and ethnic perception, acculturation and assimilation);
2. To enhance opportunities for immersing students in working within the dialectic of community and diversity;
3. To enhance students' knowledge of geographic patterns and processes visible in their local area;
4. To hone student observation skills and increase their ability to apply geographic field techniques;
5. To provide students with varied opportunities to improve writing, thinking, and analytical skills;
6. To help students gain experience in working within collaborative learning environments;
7. To build confidence in developing and refining students' organizational and oral presentation skills;
8. To help students understand and appreciate the value of their own knowledge-making in the educational process.

Integrating the Dialectic of Community and Diversity

Collaborative learning has been of considerable interest to educators over the past thirty years or so. Classroom teachers from the earliest primary grades to graduate school have explored the concept actively in recent years, especially in the social sciences and humanities. Although it is well established in the literature that students often become engaged more deeply than in other approaches with the meaning and application of geographic concepts and are able to hone critical thinking and problem solving through this approach, classroom experiences with activities centered on collaborative group work often fall far short of these goals. At times, collaborative projects succeed beyond our wildest expectations, establishing a sense of real community in our classrooms that lasts well beyond completion of the collaborative assignment. Other times, however, this type of teaching and learning may be unable to reach its objectives. In many cases, this shortcoming results from limited opportunities for expression by individual voices of members of the group. In fact, some of the less dominant student voices may be minimized or lost entirely.

To address this important issue, this learning activity provides space for enhancing and encouraging individual voices within groups, creating *diversity* within community. The "d"-word and "c"-word have become buzzwords for education in the 1990s as educators try, often unsuccessfully, to center learning environments around these dialectical concepts. Many educators have become all too familiar with definitions of these terms as expressed in dictionaries and administrative reports as:

> **community** n. A society of people having common rights and privileges.
>
> *Webster's Dictionary of the English Language*

> **diversity** n. The dimensions of diversity include race, ethnicity, religion, culture, socioeconomic status, learning styles, gender, age, sexual orientation, disability, and political orientation.
>
> California State University, Chico, "Reaffirmation of Accreditation"

As in any reflection on the meanings of words, however, there simply is no universally shared

concept of either community or diversity but only particular articulations that overlap, complement, or sit at acute angles to one another (Young 1986: 1). This incongruity makes it especially difficult to encourage *diversity within community* or *diverse communities* in our classrooms and beyond. One view, proposed by educator Gregory Clark (1994:69) is:

> The purpose of my argument is to describe a discourse that might enlarge and diversify the concept of community by offering a method for discussion—rhetoric that includes as equals people who differ in their own values and in their power to influence those of others: peers.

The content taught in a typical ethnic geography class provides numerous opportunities to practice working with this particular permutation of academic discourse. Assignments and discussions of such concepts as migration streams, settlement patterns, and landscape signatures of diverse communities form the heart of geography courses that examine the ethnic experience. When this content is taught in a truly collaborative classroom, a classroom where individual voices have opportunities to be heard, the dialectic often finds full expression. According to Kenneth Bruffee (1984:641): "The collaborative classroom is a place where collaborative learning...provides a particular kind of social context for conversation, a particular kind of community."

Procedures

In order to complete this exercise, the instructor begins with a summative discussion of basic concepts central to understanding the emergence of local ethnic landscapes. The class discusses important concepts such as *chain migration, push-pull factors* involved in settlement decision making, and an understanding of acculturation and assimilation processes within a whole group setting to ensure that students fully grasp the most important basics of ethnic geography. Clarifying and sharing these basic concepts also ensures that all students in the classroom possess a common vocabulary before beginning the activity, thus enhancing opportunities for creating more equalitarian and shared learning within a diverse community of students.

Following this review, students are then asked to record their impressions of visible ethnic signatures in their local community in their journals. This naive perception *quick write* in class focuses attention on the problem at hand as well as grounding students in their own self-constructed knowledge before beginning independent research. The incorporation of this *constructivist pedagogy* also enhances student interest and motivation to complete the project and helps provide them with a sound preliminary statement expressed in their own voice. Students are asked to focus on the following queries in their short essay:

1. What ethnic or racial groups live in your community and when did they first arrive?
2. Are the residential patterns of these various groups clustered or dispersed? That is, do they live in distinct neighborhoods or are they scattered randomly throughout the area?
3. What distinctive *ethnic signatures* come to mind that have been constructed by members of each of these groups? List a few.

Upon completion of this "quick write" in class, students are then given their field assignment. They are instructed to conduct field work sometime during the week to observe and record (by street address and in a photograph or sketch) at least ten ethnic signatures visible in their community. They should note as many different features as possible including residential and commercial buildings, religious structures, and other appropriate landscape evidences that record the presence (now or in the past) of various ethnic groups.

Students then organize a summary list of addresses and images around particular themes or topics. Perhaps all represent the same immigrant group. Or certain features, such as ethnic restaurants or religious structures, may be the only ethnic evidences in the area. By analyzing the

collection of images and addresses, students can perhaps discern distinctive settlement time periods and spatial patterns.

Students use their field data, supplemented by city directory and telephone directory information, census records, and secondary historical accounts of growth in the area, to construct a 5-7 page paper analyzing ethnic patterns observable in their own community. Relying on their list of visible landscape features whenever possible, students critically analyze their data and reach preliminary conclusions regarding specific processes involved in shaping their home area.

After turning in their completed research papers to the instructor, students are asked to form collaborative discussion groups (that contain students with a mix of diverse gender, ethnicity, and race) to pool their findings. Groups elect a facilitator and a scribe to ease the process and flow of the group assignment. Scribes keep careful records of the group's discussion and conclusions.

Each group is then given a map of the local area to guide discussion and help reach conclusions. Each individual places dots on the master map showing the locations of each ethnic signature observed during her or his field work. Groups assemble and sort their landscape photographs or sketches into meaningful categories for analysis (e.g. by ethnic group, by residential district, by type of building, by dates of construction). The group-constructed map is useful as a guide in this overall analysis of ethnic patterns in the local community.

Following this step of the activity students return to their original journal entries and re-read them, providing them with a rich opportunity for metacognition that enhances their ability to engage in self-aware critical thinking.

Group discussion follows this re-examination of journal entries and group merging of raw field data. Information gathered from other written sources such as telephone books, city directories, and census listings of ancestry and racial groups in the area may be brought into the conversation whenever pertinent. The elected scribe records important aspects of the discussion. Students are reminded to try to make sense of their merged data in this final analysis of the broad picture of ethnic settlement in their community and to think like an ethnic geographer throughout the process.

Figure 4.2. Analyzing Local Ethnic Landscapes: A Latino Market in Chico, California.

As a culminating and summative evaluation of the group stage of the activity, the facilitator of each collaborative group presents the groups' findings and conclusions to the entire class for discussion and debate. These presentations should make reference to group-constructed maps, field notes, and collected photographs or sketches (Fig. 4.2). The learning activity is concluded with a summary discussion of specific processes that have shaped the evolution of the local area through time, paying particular attention to the role of various ethnic groups in this settlement process. Final evaluation asks students to return to their journals yet again, this time with the following questions in mind:

1. How did you decide what data to gather in the field?
2. What methods did you use to locate ethnic landscape evidences in the community?
3. How did you organize your data once it had been collected to structure a written paper analyzing your findings?
4. What contribution did your ideas and original data make to your group's final analysis of ethnic patterns and processes in the local area?

Conclusions

The Landscape as Text activity is based throughout on the all-important interaction of community and diversity in teaching ethnic geography. Students are asked to begin with an activity (journal writing) that enhances their awareness of their knowledge of local ethnic communities and observable geographic patterns in their community. The activity then leads students through a series of steps designed to cause them to reflect on their original assumptions about the local area and re-think conclusions based on field work and group discussion and debate. Throughout, students are forced to re-examine their earlier assumptions by looking and looking again.

This re-examination of data forms the crux of real learning throughout the activity. Careful observation and thoughtful and well informed analysis grow out of this willingness to look and look again, individually, within a collaborative group, and with the entire class. Perhaps well known educational theorist, Paulo Freire, captures the essence of this re-visioned approach to teaching and learning most cogently. He writes (1985: 171): "I have been learning how important the obvious becomes as the object of our critical reflection, and by looking deeply into it, I have discovered that the obvious is not always as obvious as it appears."

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CHAPTER 5

Teaching Connections: Linking Ethnicity, Race, and Gender with the Environment in the College Classroom

Kate A. Berry

Geographic research on topics of ethnicity and race in the United States has expanded tremendously in the past two decades. Traditional geographic themes such as population distribution, migration patterns, and territoriality continue to attract the attention of researchers (McKee 1985; Ross and Moore 1987; Allen and Turner 1988; Henderson 1990; Comeaux 1991; Shelley 1994). Another popular geographic approach has emphasized interpreting the creation and significance of landscapes and homelands for different racial and ethnic groups in the U. S. (Nostrand 1980; Arreola 1984; Carlson 1990; Nostrand and Estaville 1993; Jett 1992). Increasing concern about the significance of economics and power relations has motivated other geographers to examine the processes that have racialized spaces and imprinted ethnic identities into places (Mitchell and Smith 1990; Van Otten and Vasquez 1992; Cooke 1995).

Nexus between Geography Research and Teaching

Emerging interests are shaping the direction of research in understanding race and ethnicity as powerful social constructs and their relevance to particular lives, communities, and places. In this vein, some geographers are changing the frame of their questions to explore the spatial dynamics of relationships between race and ethnicity with the environment. In contrast to the focus on landscape patterns, the environment in this approach can be understood as the surroundings that the interaction of human and natural processes create and continually transform. Race and ethnicity not only contribute to the uneven terrain of the environment but in turn influence the definition and significance of the environment. A case in point is the relatively recent entrance of geographers into discussions on environmental justice, the search for equity for all ethnic and racial groups in the U. S. as it connects to patterns of environmental use and quality (Pulido 1996; Goldman 1996; Berry forthcoming 1998).

Another axis that challenges geographers to turn their analytical gaze is the incorporation of gender with race and ethnicity (Sanders 1990). Unfortunately, geographers have largely left the work of uncovering the gendered dimensions of race and ethnicity to scholars in other disciplines. In the few instances where geographers have explored race and ethnicity in relation to gender, the dimensions of place and space are both strikingly resonant while posing a disturbingly different vision than that of conventional knowledge structures (Norwood and Monk 1987; McLafferty and Preston 1992; Sibley 1995).

My intent is not to idealize disciplinary progress about research on ethnicity and race. Diversity has been and continues to be conspicuously lacking within geography in the U. S. (Deskins and Sibert 1975; Shrestha and Davis 1989). As a result, few different role models exist, and the number of researchers and instructors with first-person accounts is inadequate. In addition, research needs on how to diversify geography curriculums and encourage underrepresented groups to participate in the discipline are compelling (LeVasseur 1993).

Rather than idealizing progress, what I am suggesting is that the geographies of ethnicity and race articulated in research are in the process of being translated to the teaching of geography. For public school education, this is reflected in the development of two standards in the 1994 *Geography for Life: National Geography Standards* that promote an active understanding of ethnicity in the U. S. and beyond its borders. Geography Standard 6 addresses how culture and expe-

rience influence people's perceptions of places and regions, and Standard 10 considers the characteristics, distribution, and complexity of the Earth's cultural mosaics (*Geography for Life* 1994). Changes to geographic education, however, are perhaps most evident at the college level.

Race and Ethnicity in College Geography Courses

Geography departments around the country are increasingly incorporating diversity and multiculturalism into their curriculums for pragmatic, rather than politically correct, reasons. The ethnic and racial mix of college students is rapidly changing and people of different ethnic and racial backgrounds are posing new issues. Also contributing to the curricular changes is the increasingly globalized scale of human activities (Lee 1997). Although instructors wrestle with issues of how to represent judiciously individuals or groups other than one's own, many instructors, departments, programs, and colleges are recognizing the need to reestablish a dialogue and provide education about these issues (Berry 1997).

College instructors have used different approaches to address race and ethnicity in geography courses. Brooker-Gross (1991) advocates using fiction to introduce students to the importance of temporal and spatial context in teaching about race, gender, and class bias. Some courses focus on a particular group's identity, experiences, and places, such as the course on Asian Americans discussed by Lee (1997). Other thematically structured courses examine common patterns and processes between multiple groups and explore the geographies of difference.

The emphasis in this chapter is placed on the latter thematic approach as I have drawn principally from my experiences in teaching a course titled Race, Gender, and the Environment. Similar to research that examines such connections or relationships, this course concentrates on the linkages among race, ethnicity, gender, and the environment and their relevance in contemporary lives and places.

Today's college students reflect broader public sentiments because of their general reticence to direct their attention to issues posed by race or gender, and to a lesser extent ethnicity. The power of both race and gender, as conceptual constructs and through lived experiences, have made these less than popular subjects of instruction at all levels of education. By contrast, many students have an interest, and often have had numerous experiences both inside and outside the classroom, with topics related to the environment. Given both the familiarity and preconceptions about the environment and a general reluctance to address issues of race, gender, or ethnicity, the challenge in this course is to bring these subjects into focus simultaneously for the purpose of providing insights about each.

The course's three major themes organize and provide definition for the learning experience. Initially the class explores how ethnicity, race, and gender have structured concepts of the environment and vice versa. In the second part of the class, students examine how race, ethnicity, and gender have influenced access to and the allocation of natural resources. Finally, the class examines the quality of the environment as it relates to race and racism and the associated struggle for environmental justice. This course draws equally on materials from international and domestic situations, addressing both the theoretical issues and empirical evidence. In this chapter, however, I will focus on its relevance for teaching about the ethnic and racial geographies of the U. S. and, more particularly, present an assignment that may be of interest to other college geography instructors.

An Assignment to Analyze Media Coverage

The media have a unique role in reformulating our view of events and places, serving as an external filter to define and communicate information (Zonn 1985). Geographers have found the media, and more particularly foreign-language newspapers, to be intriguing research subjects that reflect the distribution and assimilation patterns of various ethnic and racial groups in the U. S.

(Zeigler and Brunn 1985; Monmonier 1986). Analyzing coverage of English-language newspapers in an instructional setting can also reveal insights into ethnicity, race, gender, and the environment, both as concepts in popular culture and in the articulation of these concepts.

The objectives of this assignment are to engage students in an active learning process, provide experience with research, and develop critical analysis skills. In the assignment students evaluate newspaper coverage on issues of ethnicity, race, gender, and the environment, with a focus on articles or editorials that address the multiple issues, such as ethnicity and the environment. Each student works both individually and as a member of a team to analyze the coverage of various newspapers for these issues during a two-week period. I have designed an assignment for upper division and graduate students; however, with modifications, teachers can adapt it for students at other levels.

The assignment starts with a pretest in which the instructor and each student examine the same edition of the campus newspaper. Between class periods, each person reviews the newspaper, taking note of the coverage of race, ethnicity, gender, and environmental issues. Students record the following information for each article or editorial on a structured form (see Fig. 5.1 at the end of this chapter):

1. Identify the title and location of article (for example, front page, local news section, editorial page).
2. Note the general focus—race, ethnicity, gender, environment, other (describe).
3. Provide a brief description of content (two sentences or less).
4. If the article is about race or ethnicity does it explicitly include a discussion of the environment? If the article is about gender, does it explicitly include a discussion of the environment? If the article is about the environment, does it explicitly include a discussion of race, ethnicity, or gender? If the answer to any of these questions is yes, then indicate a yes in the cross-over column.
5. If there is a cross-over linking race, ethnicity, gender with the environment, succinctly describe the connections made between these topics.
6. Identify any other relevant comments.

Advertisements and comics are not included because they represent a different type of media coverage. Students must bring the completed pretest form to the next class. Students discuss each article and editorial in the newspaper to determine whether and how it should be recorded on the form. The purpose of the pretest and the associated class discussion is to explore the definition of the concepts to establish a consistent set of criteria that students can apply in determining whether an article or editorial addresses the relevant concepts and whether they can make a connection between the issues—in other words, a cross-over.

Once the pretest is complete, students use the forms and the established criteria in the assignment. Each student becomes a member of one of two groups. Students in Group A evaluate regional newspapers, whereas those in Group B evaluate three national newspapers. More than one team can be created for each group, depending upon the size of the class (for example, Group A-team 1 and Group A-team 2). In Reno, I have selected the *Las Vegas Review Journal, San Diego Union Tribune, Salt Lake Tribune, Sacramento Bee,* and *Seattle Times* for Group A and the *San Francisco Chronicle, New York Times, Washington Post, Christian Science Monitor,* and *Los Angeles Times* for Group B. I selected these newspapers primarily because each is available in local libraries and most of these newspapers can also be purchased through local vendors.

Each student is responsible for evaluating five newspapers for an established two-week period on their assigned day of the week. In total, each student reviews and completes forms for reviewing a total of five newspaper editions. The instructor's choice of which two-week period to use should take into account student access to archival editions and any delay in receiving the newspapers at the libraries. For the sake of clarity, different daily editions of newspapers should be placed on separate forms and the newspaper title and date recorded on each form. On the

assigned date, each student brings to class fourteen copies of the completed forms. One copy of each of the completed forms is graded, and the other copies are exchanged with other team members.

After team members have exchanged completed forms, each should have a complete record of the coverage of issues of race, ethnicity, gender, and the environment for five newspapers for a two-week period. One week should be allowed for students to review the completed forms and summarize the findings in the form of a short essay, typically two to three typed pages. Each student is responsible for his or her essay that analyzes the newspaper coverage and uses class readings, lectures, and discussions. In their essays students should evaluate such information as:

1. differences between newspapers in terms of the concepts addressed and how they were covered as issues;
2. the location of relevant articles within the newspaper and the timing of coverage;
3. the type of issues in which cross-overs appeared;
4. what was omitted as well as what was published;
5. significance of media coverage and analysis.

The intent is not to make definitive, sweeping conclusions about media coverage because the assignment covers only five newspapers during a two-week period. The assignment does, however, provide students with an active, research-based experience in analyzing newspaper coverage. Throughout the assignment students reflect upon the role of the media in shaping issues within these conceptual areas and the ways in which they have been, or have not been, addressed in conjunction with one another. Instructors can further encourage this process by allowing time for brief small-group discussions at various points throughout the class assignment and providing a summary of intergroup differences (among regional and nationals newspapers) at the conclusion of the assignment.

Conclusions

Challenging students to explore the intersections of race, ethnicity, and gender with the environment involves a re-thinking of traditional pedagogy. In lieu of an approach in which the instructor provides simple definitions, identifies lifeways, and selectively characterizes the places of racial, ethnic, and gender groups, the approach proposed here suggests an interactive examination of geographic dimensions of identity creation and transformation. Although a lecture may illustrate key points, it fails to express the dimensions and complexity of these connections in ways that will remain with the student throughout the course and beyond. Approaches to learning that are exclusively passive, as in a series of delivered lectures, are typically insufficient for this purpose, whereas active learning offers the promise of engaging students in their educational process and encouraging critical analysis skills.

This assignment provides an example of such an active learning process that occurs both inside and outside the classroom. Throughout the assignment students engage in critical thinking about the nature of events in defining and establishing priorities for concepts and the relative influence of the news media in this process. Just as geographic research may examine the connections among race, ethnicity, gender, and the environment, teaching can also contribute to a conscious and reflective analysis of previously unexplored relationships.

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NAME: NEWSPAPER TITLE: DATE OF ISSUE:

Article/Editorial Title	Location in newspaper	General focus (race, ethnicity, gender, environment, other--describe)	Brief discussion of content (2 sentences or less)	Is there a cross-over ? (Yes or No)	If yes, what type of cross-over? (e.g. gender focus, but discusses air pollution)	Other comments

Figure 5.1. Assignment Form

CHAPTER 6

Using Personal Accounts to Incorporate Ethnic Issues into Introductory College Human Geography

Brock J. Brown

Topics and issues of ethnicity and cultural diversity are appropriate for higher education curricula, and universities have a responsibility to address diversity in a democratic society (Schneider 1995). Moral, demographic, civic, enrichment, and political arguments for including ethnic and cultural diversity issues in higher education are compelling (Chism and Border 1992: 1). Schneider (1995: 9-11) asserts that the treatment of cultural diversity in higher education is fundamental to "marking and testing the core commitments of United States democracy." In the aggregate such advocacy has led to an increasing call for multicultural education in universities (Gaff 1992: 35). University administrators strongly agree that multiculturalism (and, hence, ethnicity) will remain a "central feature of their general education programs for some time" (Gaff 1992: 31).

Ethnicity, however defined, consists of people and their culture traits, both of which are distributed across space. Spatial processes significantly influence distributions of ethnicity and cultural diversity (Jordan *et al.* 1994: 327-345). By drawing on any number of definitions of geography, for example Pattison (1964: 211-216) or Nostrand (1968: 13-17), it becomes evident that spatial patterns of distribution and underlying spatial processes are central to geographic observation and analysis. Because ethnicity has a spatial component, it is obvious that culture and ethnicity are legitimate topics of geographic analysis. *Geography for Life* (1994: 79-91) places substantial emphasis on the spatial aspects of ethnicity in geography instruction under its Human Systems element. Issues and topics of ethnicity and cultural diversity play a central role in a variety of pressing contemporary concerns. If we are to demonstrate to our students that geography is worthwhile and applicable to the world beyond the university, these topics must be a part of any relevant cultural geography curriculum.

Introductory courses in human geography are logical vehicles that can help meet the goals of incorporating topics of ethnicity and cultural diversity into the curriculum at many universities. This opportunity, however, is not without obstacles. Incorporating such topics can be a difficult task for a variety of reasons: inadequate treatment in traditional textbooks, a paucity of commercially published instructional resources that teachers can use to supplement textbooks, narrow or biased student experiences and perceptions, and limited experience of faculty in addressing ethnic issues.

Limitations of Treatment of Ethnicity in Traditional Textbooks

Anyone who has taught introductory human or cultural geography at the college level is aware that many of the commercially available textbooks treat ethnicity and ethnic issues (excluding ethnic religion) inadequately. A survey of index listings of ten popular introductory college human and cultural geography texts revealed that ethnicity and ethnic issues (excluding ethnic religion) were treated inconsistently in the texts. The number of listings ranged from a high of 44 to a low of two, with a median for all texts of only six inclusions of ethnicity and ethnic issues. Only four of the texts had chapters devoted to ethnicity (Fig. 6.1). Although many commercial texts fail to acknowledge and address ethnic issues and topics, such omissions do not excuse instructors from the responsibility of integrating this important aspect into introductory geography courses.

Limitations of Instructional Resources

Some commercial materials are available to assist instructors in integrating ethnic issues and topics. For example, in 1985 Jesse McKee edited a comprehensive collection of essays that provided a geographic appraisal of ethnicity in contemporary America. From an academic standpoint, the volume provides a large amount of information about various American ethnic groups in the mid-1980s. Other materials, such as *Annual Editions: Race and Ethnic Relations*, provide a collection of current articles from the popular media and various published reports (Kronkowski 1991).

Author and Text	index entries	Chapter on ethnicity
Bergman, Edward E. 1995. *Human Geography: Cultures, Connections, and Landscapes*	4	None
De Blij, Harm J. 1996. *Human Geography: Culture, Society, and Space*, 5th ed.	6	None
Fellmann, Jerome, Arthur Getis, and Judith Getis 1997. *Human Geography: Landscapes of Human Activities*, 5th ed.	44	Chapter 6 Ethnic Geography
Jackson, Richard H. and Lloyd E. Hudman 1990. *Cultural Geography: People, Places, and Environment*	14	Chapter 8 Race and Ethnicity
Jordan, Terry G, Mona Domosh, and Lester Rowntree 1994. *The Human Mosaic: A Thematic Introduction to Cultural Geography*, 6th ed.	16	Chapter 9 Ethnic Geography
Nelson, Ronald E. and Robert E. Gabler 1995 *Human Geography: People, Cultures, and Landscapes*	3	None
Norton, William 1994. *Human Geography*	4	None
Rubenstein, James M. 1996. *The Cultural Landscape: An Introduction to Human Geography*, 5th ed.	2	None
Shelley, Fred M. and Audrey E. Clarke 1994. *Human and Cultural Geography: A Global Perspective*	6	None
Zimolzak, Chester E. and Charles A. Stansfield, Jr. 1983. *The Human Landscape: Geography and Culture*, 2nd ed.	9	Chapter 5 Race and Ethnicity

Figure 6.1. Treatment of ethnicity in major introductory texts.

Sources such as these make an array of useful information available, but students may have difficulty relating to the often impersonal style of writing and, at times, sterile presentation of data. In some cases, without proper pedagogical planning, the generalizations and summarized data typical in these resources may even perpetuate stereotypes. Zevin (1993: 82) summarizes the potential risk of such sources:

> ...as knowledge is condensed and summarized...many peoples and their traditions are reduced almost to a cartoon of what their cultures are really like, much of what cannot be conveyed in a human way without benefit of first-person documentation and intensive discussion with students. [Using first-hand accounts is a strategy that helps to avoid oversimplification and]...compression of factual information [that] creates for students an even more distant impression of different cultures and people than they already have, leading to a view of others that renders them into a set of statistics, dates, names, places, and events lacking emotional attachment.

Limitation of Student Experience and Perception

Each student brings different cultural and ethnic experiences and perspectives to the classroom (Adams 1992: 13). Numerous factors, including parental and neighborhood or community biases

and prejudices, social class, and religion have influenced much of their experience with ethnicity and cultural diversity (Schuman and Olufs 1995: 5). Stereotypes, gossip, rumor, and fear often influence the formation of perceptions about ethnicity and members of ethnic groups (Schoem 1991: 3).

Many college students have had limited opportunities to interpret and understand ethnic topics and issues. They often lack a logical framework from which to examine critically their experiences and beliefs. This myopia is true not only for the *majority* student lacking ethnic experience, but also for the so-called *ethnic* student who perhaps has lived in only one ethnic experience, thereby developing limited or biased understanding of the ethnic issues and problems encountered over the years.

Instructor-initiated class discussions on ethnic issues may often meet with reluctance, or even resistance, from students. Teachers should not necessarily interpret such reaction to mean that students are apathetic or opposed to investigating such issues. Frequently, students lack a comfortable point of departure for these discussions and do not have the experiential background necessary for investigating ethnic issues. These barriers may result from feelings of guilt, confusion, anger, or fear of participating in discussions of topics with the potential for emotional confrontation, which can lead people to create self-protective barriers and resistance to dealing with people in groups other than their own (McClintock 1994: 41).

Addressing issues through the use of concrete, personal experiences can help break down these barriers. Personal accounts can also make an issue that seems distant and abstract to students into something close and concrete (McClintock 1994: 40). Use of personal accounts can provide common ground and a nonhostile environment from which students can critically investigate such topics and issues.

Limitations of Faculty Experience and Comfort

The responsibility for including ethnic issues and topics in the human geography curriculum falls squarely on the instructor. Many faculty, however, are not prepared to develop the multicultural classroom, and few campuses have enough faculty members capable of teaching such courses (Gaff 1993: 34). It is no small task to transform the curriculum and develop instructional strategies to teach effectively about ethnic issues so the outcomes acknowledge and prepare students for the cultural multiplicity of contemporary society (Culley 1986: 209; Schmitz, *et al.* 1992: 75-87; Schneider 1995: 41). This commitment may not be readily forthcoming by college teachers who see such an agenda as "...daunting, time consuming, emotionally demanding, full of pitfalls and unpleasant surprises, and potentially unrewarded by senior colleagues" (Adams 1992: 14). Many faculty may be reluctant because they are limited in their instructional experience with potentially charged, perhaps even explosive, topics like ethnicity (Gaff 1992: 34). Another problem is that faculty may harbor prejudices or lack personal experience with culturally diverse people, both of which can inhibit the comfort with which they approach ethnic and multicultural instruction (Alexander 1994: 267). Despite the limitations that faculty and students face, it is necessary to bring multicultural issues to the introductory human geography classroom, and one good way is to have students read about cultural perspectives and apply critical analysis to questions of human differences and sameness (Gaff 1992: 32).

Using Personal Accounts

Understanding ethnicity and cultural diversity is difficult because we all live in separate worlds derived from the unique experiences of our lives (Schoem 1992: 3). When integrating ethnic topics and issues into the curriculum, teachers must take steps to "...avoid the simplistic...alternative of replacing the old norms with new ones" (Butler and Walter 1991: 326). Gaff (1992: 35) calls for more personal, experiential, interactive, and collaborative kinds of instruction.

Reading and discussing firsthand accounts, the words of others, allows students to "...understand the authors on their own terms, in their own worlds" (Shoem 1991: 5). For example, Harada (1995: 633), writing about the topic of Japanese internment in the United States during World War II, points out that "stories told by internees and their children provide an insider's view that reveals the emotions and thoughts of those who actually lived through the experience..." and captures the voices of ordinary people.

First-hand accounts personalize the experience, giving it profound meaning. The words of a pregnant female migrant farm worker from Mexico describing the conditions of life in the Arizona fields cut through the barriers of ethnocentrism and ignorance. Her words strike a universal chord and develop a sense of empathy. Such accounts provide young students with an opportunity to see others as they see themselves, to experience different cultures as valid and valuable creations, and to inquire into the ways in which ideas, customs, and inventions move from one place to another (Zevin 1993: 83).

Personal accounts should be thought of as reflective of ordinary life in an ethnic experience. Instructors must regularly underscore that much diversity exists *within* a group, and personal accounts may not represent the entire group, but rather are examples of individuals within a group (Clark 1983). Minich (1995: 17-20) calls for action that fosters an understanding of the relationship between the polar positions of the universe of a human group and the individuals in a group. Personal accounts are a pedagogical vehicle that allows exploration of ethnic issues and experiences from the perspective of the individual and within the group framework.

Personal accounts help to overcome the misguided effects of preconceived stereotypes and beliefs. The use of personal accounts greatly increases the probability that students will interact, integrate, evaluate, and assess their feelings and values.

Locating Instructional Resources

To integrate personal accounts, teachers need to build resource collections that deal with relative values (Harada 1996: 631). An effective account is one that is clear, specific enough to make the point, and conveys an experience that is understandable, believable, and related to the educational goal (McClintock 1994: 41-42).

Newspapers

Newspapers provide timely sources of personal accounts. On-line search capabilities at many libraries allow instructors to search by topic. Newspapers often have in-depth feature stories that are more likely to include personal accounts than news magazines, which tend to be concise and fact oriented. For example, a newspaper search on farm workers yielded the following account (Dine 1995: 5B):

> How did he end up living in this row of tiny 'dog houses,' asks Mario, 38, standing in the doorway of the 10-by-12-foot wooden shed he shares with another man. They pick peaches and apples at Hartline Orchards, near Cobden, 110 miles southeast of St. Louis. Mario pays one dollar a day rent. His dwelling contains beds with two bare mattresses, a rusted cooking range, one metal chair. Ants crawl over a half-cut onion. There's no running water. Clothes are scattered around the stained concrete floor. It's filled with flies. As night falls, the migrants gather near their houses. With no outside lights, it's hard to navigate the area to the nearby toilet or shower. But darkness emboldens the men, who stand in a small circle and talk softly about the quality of the water, the handling of pesticides. They've heard tales of workers fired for asking too many questions. Hartline's owners later decline to discuss this or other matters. The migrants have other reasons for saying little. For instance, Lupe's documents belong to a friend in another state. Lupe has to remember that legally he's named Roberto, illegally he's himself. 'That's one of

> the reasons we can't speak out,' says Raoul, who is here properly. 'So many people are illegal, and I don't want to undermine them.' Will they eventually ask for better conditions? Mario, who was a teacher back home, breaks the silence. 'Most of the time, it's better to keep quiet.'

Books

Personal accounts can be excerpted from books. Books provide access to descriptions that often go into greater depth than newspaper sources. Topic searches will provide abundant potential sources, but the task of evaluating and selecting accounts is time consuming. A good example of a book resource is Gene Oishi's *In Search of Hiroshi.* Oishi was eight years old when his family was relocated in 1942 from their California home to an internment camp. The book portrays the largely innocent perspective of a child's experience of being uprooted. One account of day-to-day life in the camp addresses the complications that can be associated with one of the most fundamental functions of humans (Oishi 1988: 49).

> The latrines had two banks of seats back-to-back, each with four holes. When the water tank filled to a certain level it would release the water that was supposed to clear the excrement from below all the holes. One soon learned not to sit at the last hole in the row, for when the dirty water hit the far end it would slosh up through the opening. Most of the time, though, the water pressure was not strong enough, so the latrines were usually filthy, smelled, and swarmed with flies.

Conclusion

Used as a platform for lectures, class discussions, writing exercises, or other activities, personal accounts help to cut through cultural barriers, overcome ethnocentric thinking and generate empathy, compassion, and understanding that otherwise would be hard to obtain in a classroom setting. They allow students with limited experience to gain an insider's advantage for understanding the day-to-day meaning of belonging to an ethnic group.

The pedagogical path for exploring ethnic issues from a geographic perspective is much more inviting for the students if the experience is personalized by contact with people living ordinary lives. The goal of providing such experience is to build bridges that extend beyond students' existing knowledge and experience and move them experientially forward (Collett and Serrano 1992: 35). Butler (1991: 75) argues that the route for meeting this goal is twofold, to reveal both unity among human beings and important differences between them. Teachers must be cautious, however, to ensure that personal accounts do not create stereotypes.

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CHAPTER 7

Ethnic Geography: Reflections on Initial Fears and Assignments that Worked

Richard F. Hough

Teaching Geography of Ethnic Communities ranks among the most rewarding of my classroom experiences during my 30-year career at San Francisco State University, but I must admit to having been somewhat apprehensive when first offered an opportunity to teach the course. My worries derived from three concerns: my own ethnicity, the ethnic composition of classes at San Francisco State, and my competencies and interests when compared to the nature of the course as it had been presented during previous semesters. In short, how would a middle-aged, white male be accepted when treating minority issues with students whose backgrounds were predominately non-Caucasian? How would my rather catholic background in cultural geography play in a course that was cross-listed with our Urban Studies program? My departmental colleagues assured me that I did not need to be concerned on any of these fronts—and they were right; each of my fears proved unfounded as I handled some 26 sections of the course during an eight-year span. In retrospect, I wish only that I had taught the course earlier as it became my all-time favorite. Still, it might be helpful to reassess those initial feelings of trepidation.

Composition of the Student Body

The student body at San Francisco State is extraordinarily heterogeneous, with the Asian-American population increasing dramatically. Other than in our General Education offerings in physical and human geography, the Geography Department experienced less of the university's ethnic diversity than was the case for some other departments. We worked to attract greater numbers of African-American and Hispanic students in particular to become majors, but we drew only a few to geography over the years. Our upper-division classes were over-represented by white students when compared to the general campus composition. In contrast, because of its title and its strategic placement in several key upper-division General Education categories needed for graduation, the Geography of Ethnic Communities brought in nonmajors whose ethnicity tended to reflect campus norms much more closely. Not surprisingly, I saw my new opportunity as potentially much more volatile than teaching about central place or continental drift. Moreover, our ethnic communities course was cross-listed with Urban Studies, an area of expertise that was marginal for me. My colleague and friend, the late Jean Vance, had instituted the course in conjunction with Urban Studies as a complement to her own specialty, urban geography. Vance emphasized the history and spatial aspects of ghetto formation and succession in the American city; many of her contrasting examples were drawn from European contexts. My regional interests lay in eastern Asia; rural landscapes held more attraction for me than those of cities, although I confess that the diverse character of San Francisco's neighborhoods was constantly intriguing. Needless to say, my own version of the course reflected my background more and more as the semesters rolled by.

Other Considerations

Even in courses that use standard textbooks, an instructor tends to emphasize those topics in which he or she possesses an expanded knowledge base or personal interest in order to present material with authority and confidence. From my long association with things Japanese and by leading field-study excursions to San Francisco's Japantown as well as to the Japanese-American

internment camp at Manzanar, California, it should not be surprising that I devoted more time to the Japanese-American experience than did my colleagues. From my cultural geography courses, I brought in materials dealing with historic migration patterns and demographic changes over time. Also from cultural geography as well as my course on Current World Affairs, I felt it important to deal with regions outside the United States that were experiencing or had experienced racial or ethnic tensions, my prime examples being South Africa, Malaysia, and the former Soviet Union. (The South African case never failed to elicit strong emotions from students of all backgrounds.) From my Geography of California course, I found it particularly instructive for our students to contrast the spatial expressions of ethnicity in Greater Los Angeles with those that had developed in their own Bay Area.

From my long-standing interest in the geography of religions, I gave special attention to the Plain Peoples, especially the Amish and Hutterites as examples of communities that attempt to maintain traditional values in a changing world. I particularly focused on a smaller, less well-known Anabaptist group, the Dunkers (Old C man Baptist Brethren) because of my own research within that community. Finally, given the very title of the course, I felt it incumbent to spend at least a week each on the experiences of the African-American, Hispanic, and Asian communities in the United States. I regret that I never made time for consideration of the ravages inflicted on the Native Americans. Thus, my version of the class evolved rather far from the urban studies model, but however idiosyncratic it may sound, I can report with satisfaction that it worked!

Factors Underlying Success

What made the ethnic communities course work for me, for my colleagues who presented the course concurrently with me (we usually offered three sections each semester) and for great numbers of students over the years? As I reflect back, I can identify at least four factors that helped ensure that the course was both a pleasure for us as instructors and, according to student evaluations, a stimulating experience for our students.

First, I used movies, and in my case, slides as well. It is a truism that the student of today is oriented more to visual images than to the spoken or written word. Given that proclivity, it is a happy circumstance that so many truly excellent audiovisual materials exist on ethnic groups. I made movies integral parts of my presentations. Many of the movies that I regularly employed undoubtedly have more recent counterparts with just as much or more potential effect or utility. Nevertheless, it might prove helpful to indicate the titles or topics I found consistently successful in dealing with emotions as well as factual data, thus lending themselves to good subsequent class discussions:

1. *Last Grave at Dimbaza.* 1974. 57 minutes, color, Morena Films. Far out of date, but emotionally wrenching and enlightening. Strongly biased but nevertheless a needed antidote to complacent attitudes within any group.
2. *Storm of Strangers.* 1969. 27 minutes, black and white, National Communications Foundation. Imagine the present video generation becoming engrossed by a series of still photos taken a century ago. It reveals much about the great deluge in American immigration.
3. *From these Roots.* 1974. 29 minutes, black and white, Exxon. Same comment as *Strangers,* substituting the African-American experience for that of the Jews in New York.
4. *Amish.* 1975. 28 minutes, color, Heritage Production or *The Hutterites.* 1963. 28 minutes, black and white, National Film Board of Canada. Sympathetic, yet detached views into the lifestyles of communities that want to keep the values of the outside world at bay.
5. *American Chinatown.* 1980. 30 minutes, color, Todd Carrel. Concentrates on one tiny, rural California Chinese community of retired agricultural laborers who were being harassed by tourists and threatened by potential development. Good on immigration patterns and nonacculturation.

6. *El Norte.* 1983. 141 minutes, color, CBS/Fox. Feature-length film that played in commercial movie theaters and is now widely available on video. Traces the perils facing illegal immigrants and the processes involved in acculturation. *El Norte* is long both in time and emotional impact; it brings just about every theme treated in the course into perspective and provides the basis for great essays on final exams.

Second, I drew upon autobiographies as well as other nongeographical books. The course is about peoples—real peoples who have gone through pain and suffering in large part because of minority status. It is about the hopes, aspirations, and pride of these peoples. To reduce the classroom experience to recitations of statistics or models of urban change from any of several philosophical viewpoints misses what can be the most enlightening and enriching aspects of the topic of ethnicity. Exciting biographies of women of color, especially Maya Angelou's *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (1970) and Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston's *Farewell to Manzanar* (1983), became required readings. True, these are familiar works for many graduates of California's high schools, but giving scrutiny to these outstanding books from a geographic perspective proved a winner without fail.

Third, we used maps, mapping, and spatial analysis of census data. I believe that professional geographers have an important advantage when we bring our geographic insights to bear on questions of ethnicity: spatial patterns are inherently passive or neutral; we can use mapped versions of reality as dispassionate, nonjudgmental facts. If the instructor wishes to stay on neutral ground, he or she most likely can do so. When mapped patterns reveal the results of decades of discrimination and racial or religious or class animosities, they call for historical explanations, the explications of which may well elicit strong reactions.

Being geographers and having a geographic view of the world carry two other advantages. One is our ability—and even predisposition—to contrast conditions cross-culturally. Examination of examples from Africa, Asia, and Europe proved a great help to my students. Similarly, we as geographers necessarily have to deal with a wide range of materials and topics; we are not confined to bring only one viewpoint to bear on our analysis of ethnicity or treat only limited aspects of a subject. The broad nature of geographic inquiry stimulates consideration of a wide range of related materials that add zest to our classes.

Fourth, student recognition of the relevance of the topic to their own lives. I think three factors contributed to the course being seen as especially meaningful to the students' personal lives.

1. Most of our students resided in San Francisco itself, or, if they were not from the city, they rarely came from affluent suburban enclaves. In other words, the everyday world around them was about as socially and ethnically diverse as any place in the world. They were also attending an institution that reflected that diversity.
2. Even the most provincial and ethnocentric students could not help but reflect on the fact that to make sense of the wider world in which they lived, they had to take ethnicity into account when dealing with tensions surrounding international migrations or the concept of nationhood.
3. The subject matter is such that opportunities are available to share personal experiences with the class as a whole or in small groups no matter what the ages, majors, or life histories of the class members.

Students especially shared their findings upon interviewing an immigrant or delving into their family backgrounds.

Assignments that Worked

Assignments have a way of evolving with the passage of years, but tried and true ones are worth giving again and again, semester after semester. Admittedly, going through your 600th

family history may well make picking up the 601st something of a chore, no matter how much geographic data it may contain, and yet you know from course evaluations, personal comments, and from acknowledgments contained within the family stories themselves, that investigating one's family background proved to be one of the most meaningful assignments undertaken during a student's four-year college career. My colleagues and I who developed the framework for such personal term papers, referred to these productions as "Roots Papers." Roots Papers took much time and effort and were not possible for students to complete during the three-week versions of the course I repeatedly gave during summer and winter sessions. For such incredibly compressed classes, I had the students choose among a number of options that I normally did not employ during regular 15-week sessions.

Short Assignments (Options for a Three-Week Course)

1. Report of field observations. Training in field methods is a worthy goal in many geography classes, and class observations during a visit to an ethnic enclave within the city can be stimulating and worthwhile. During our three-hour period in either Japantown or the Mission District of San Francisco, I typically had students interview at least two persons, map the land uses and presumed ethnicity of establishments of one city block, and record observations of ethnic markers through sketching or photography. The tasks were structured; the report was due usually four da s later.
2. Photographic evidences of ethnicity. As an alternative to the entire class going on an excursion, I offered the option of mapping and photographing one city block—normally in an ethnic neighborhood—looking for evidences such as differing languages, religions, landscaping, ethnic markers. Each student who undertook such a task produced a large poster-board display to show to the class. The results invariably were spectacular, both esthetically and informationally. One might think that such a project would take an entire semester to complete, but some of the best products I ever received were completed within ten days. Students with marginal skills in written English often chose this option as did those majoring in fine arts. Again, the assignment was highly structured in terms of what to look for while allowing freedom in how to display the findings; the one mandatory element was presentation of a map as the centerpiece of the poster board.
3. Paper on a minority group outside the United States. Topics included the Kurdish problem; Turks in Germany; the status of ethnic Russians in former Soviet Republics; Koreans in Japan—the possibilities are almost endless and often right out of the day's headlines. This kind of research is especially important to combat the parochialism of some of our North American students; conversely, it is important to illustrate that racial, ethnic, and social tensions are not by any means confined to the United States. For a typical winter-session offering, I indicated that four or five references would constitute a bibliography and that the paper could be equally short. I did require that at least one map (not necessarily original) accompany the text. This assignment, of course, can be expanded for a semester-length course.
4. History and distribution of an immigrant group in the United States. Again, this can be a major paper if one has adequate time, but for the compressed sessions, my expectations were much more limited. Essentially, the students summarized the material in Allen and Turner's *We the People* (1988), and at least one other source for a brief class presentation using an overhead projector to show the distribution of the immigrant group in question.
5. Immigrant interview (not optional). Once I developed this assignment, I required it of all my classes in ethnic communities. Technically, it is a short assignment—one that can be completed within a few days, but I held that it was just as meaningful and vital to the 15-week classes, so I gave it without exception. Reassuring the students at the outset that incredibly timid predecessors have reported extremely positive experiences after having been forced to carry through this exercise tends to help the apprehensive. It also helps to

set limitations (no relatives; only someone who came to the United States as an adult) coupled with strong suggestions (not a fellow student unless all other possibilities wash out; not someone from Canada or the United Kingdom; and I would hope, a member of a background different from that of the interviewer).

It is vital that the students understand that they need not use the real names of their interviewees should the interviewees wish to preserve their anonymity. Students must also understand that a successful interview will take from 45 minutes to an hour; if the interviewer gets through all the questions in 20 minutes or less, it might be well to consider scrapping that effort and trying to find someone else to question. Finally, reassurance comes from following the structured series of questions that tend to be neutral. (Admittedly, any question can potentially upset a given interviewee.)

The written report consisted of three sections with the following instructions:

Part I :

In a paragraph, please tell how you went about finding someone to interview. How long had you known the interviewee prior to this? Evaluate how the interview went, e.g., how cooperative was the interviewee? How knowledgeable did he or she appear? How much time did the interview take? How fluent was the person in English (or did you employ a different language in conducting the interview)?

In a second paragraph, indicate some of the characteristics of the interviewee: sex, age (or approximate age), occupation, number of years in the United States. Also indicate the date of the interview and where the interview took place.

Part II: "Findings" was divided into six sections each with a series of specific questions.

Section A concerned the person's place of origin (homeland); B pertained to possible destinations for potential emigration; C covered the means of travel; D looked at the port of entry and initial responses to arrival; E was the lengthiest section as the interviewee recalled his or her early experiences in the United States. Section F was potentially the most sensitive in that the interviewee was asked to give his or her future outlook.

Part III: Offered the student interviewer the opportunity to reflect on both "Concepts and Evaluation." I think it is worthwhile to reproduce the instructions:

A. In a paragraph, list any terms or concepts from class lectures or readings that illustrated the interviewee's experiences. Select one that seemed particularly appropriate and expand on why that is the case.
B. In a paragraph or two, evaluate your learning experience through carrying out this assignment. How did the interview affect you? How did the interview help or not help meet the objectives of the class?

Term Assignment—Roots Paper

Normally, I counted this product as 40 percent of the semester grade because of the amount of time and effort needed by conscientious students to carry through the work to successful completion. As in the case of the immigrant interview, it helped greatly both to allay fears and to get students on the right track if certain provisos were made clear at the outset:

1. The paper is primarily for the edification of the student and the student's actual or potential offspring, not for the instructor. The inclusion of detailed anecdotal material, photographs, birth and death certificates, etc. is a matter of the student's personal choice, such materials have no effect on the instructor's evaluation of the work. Likewise, the number of ancestors one can trace is immaterial so long as the student indicates the nature of roadblocks encountered during information gathering.
2. If family relations are such that data are available on only one side of the family, so be it;

again, this fact will not affect the grade. Similarly, one may trace the roots of one's adoptive family, if desired. Likewise, if for personal reasons, a student does not wish to delve into his or her ancestry, then he or she may use the family of someone else. Interestingly, students virtually never chose this option.

3. Start early. Contact key relatives as soon as possible. This cannot be stressed enough.
4. This is a geography course taught by a professional geographer. Therefore, make sure that maps, charts, and other graphics conform to accepted standards regarding neatness and completeness. (Obviously, the instructor has to indicate clearly what he or she is expecting students to produce. Supplying needed outline maps to students, if allowed by the institution, can certainly help relieve student concerns.)

At San Francisco State, my colleagues and I asked that the Roots project have four separate parts: a genealogical chart, a map or set of maps, a table of cultural traits, and an essay. The textual portion, i.e., the essay dealt with three questions:

1. How and why did you move to the Bay Area? (Students were to pay particular attention to both general and specific push-and-pull factors.)
2. How and why did you become who you are?
3. Where and who will you (and future generations) be?

The greater portion of the class handout gave advice and instructions on how to handle the essay question.

Final Advice

Perhaps you will be given the opportunity to teach a course in ethnic geography; perhaps you will react with a sense of trepidation at the prospect. Based on my personal experience, put aside your concerns and go for it; the course very likely will prove exhilarating as well as challenging and even your all-time career favorite! Do not worry about formal textbooks; use some of the marvelous movies as well as the superb autobiographies and novels that are available.

Do not worry about classroom discussions exploding in your face; prepare to receive some flak if you purposely present a biased stance in order to get strong reactions, but recognize that most geographic presentations are basically noncontroversial. Do not worry about student apathy; your students will quickly see the material and topics as relevant and meaningful to their own lives. Do not worry about the kinds of research assignments you might require of your students; truly meaningful assignments that are personally fulfilling for your students are readily available.

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PART III. STUDY AREAS AND FIELD WORK

CHAPTER 8

Focus on the Local Area

James P. Allen

Although courses in American Ethnic Geography are probably most apt to examine spatial patterns of ethnicity at the scale of large multi-county or even state regions, it may be illuminating for students to investigate ethnic geography at much larger scales, focusing on the local area. Local geography is a resource that should probably be more frequently incorporated into many courses because local areas have the potential to make learning immediate and related closely to the lives of students.

I live and teach in Los Angeles, and for the last three years I have taught an undergraduate geography seminar on Ethnic Patterns in Los Angeles. Four techniques I have used could be incorporated into an American Ethnic Geography course. They would also fit into an urban, social, or population geography course or a broader regional course such as the United States and Canada.

In general, these techniques teach how ethnic groups fit into the socioeconomic and geographical structure of a local area. Each of the four techniques is highly geographical, as opposed to the teaching technique that historians, social scientists, or teachers of ethnic studies might use. A more structural approach to multicultural education acknowledges that locations of ethnic groups differ and that some groups rank higher in income or education than others. Moreover, positioning in the social and spatial structure affects social contacts and work opportunities.

This concern with social structure is, of course, somewhat different from but complementary to the typical cultural approach to multicultural education. My impression is that the cultural approach is more likely to attempt to increase student awareness of cultural differences and similarities, often through identification with the personal experiences of individuals as told through stories or movies.

A focus on the local area does not require large ethnic populations, but it helps to be in an area with some locally recognized diversity. Most cities and larger towns have much more ethnic diversity than may be apparent on the surface because the cultures and networks of ethnic communities are usually half-hidden from public eye but students and others have the potential to explore these areas. Even in large cities like Los Angeles, where great public awareness exists of the presence of larger groups, little is known about the history, status, and dynamics of ethnic populations in the many localities. Moreover, most of us live our lives within such a small part of the diversity of people, neighborhoods, occupations, and life styles around us that many local areas and populations constitute terra incognita.

Mapping Local Ethnic Distributions

Fortunately, ethnic data are available by census tracts so we can map ethnic groups. Many geography departments have mapping software to produce maps quite readily, and students may be able to make maps of ethnic patterns in their local area using the CD-ROM disks of 1990 census data.

In our course, I give students a copy of a local area ethnic atlas (e.g., Allen and Turner 1997). Maps of the various ethnic groups locate concentrations of groups as well as areas of geographical mixing, patterns that obviously are needed for interpreting the local socio-geographic situation.

It is almost natural for students to compare the distributions of different groups and question

why some groups are more separated geographically than others. For example, where do different Asian and Latino groups and African Americans tend to live compared to whites? Why are there separate concentrations of some groups whereas others seem much more evenly distributed? How do the distributions of immigrants relate to the varying socioeconomic status of groups? Are these patterns reflective of spatial generalizations of urban geography? Maps, therefore, become catalysts for promoting discussion of both urban mobility processes and the experiences of different groups.

Several general reasons help to explain ethnically distinctive settlement patterns, and some of these will emerge in discussions about the distributions: (1) historical or recent proximity to jobs, (2) income contrasts between groups, (3) ethnic social networks and chain migration, (4) location of available housing at the time of arrival, (5) differences in ethnic group preferences and avoidances, and (6) discrimination in renting or selling housing. Just as no consensus is apparent among scholars as to the relative importance of these reasons, I do not expect students to accomplish more than recognize their potential significance in explanation. Students may suggest other reasons that could lead to useful discussions.

Interviews to Investigate the Origins of Ethnic Enclaves

This strategy represents a follow-up to the previous techniques of mapping and suggesting answers to basic geographic questions. Here students spend most of one day in the field trying to answer the question: Why is a specific ethnic population concentrated in a certain place?

The reasons for ethnic group settlements in particular neighborhoods or sections are often unknown. In Los Angeles and, perhaps, in many larger cities, historical studies are available on the better known ethnic groups that sometimes explain the reasons behind the original enclave location. Even in ethnically diverse Los Angeles, it is amazing how little public, English-language knowledge exists about the local geography of less-publicized and smaller ethnic groups. In Los Angeles this information deficit characterizes Filipinos, Thais, Asian Indians, Vietnamese, Cambodians, Samoans, Arabs, Armenians, and Iranians.

One result of this technique is that students learn, perhaps surprisingly, that entire ethnic populations are virtually ignored by the mainstream press, the majority ethnic group, and, frequently, by the scholarly world. Local inhabitants, too, are often unaware of many ethnic groups in their area. Of course, the absence of coverage of a group implies its insignificance in the eyes of the dominant or majority society.

I have devised a field interview experience around this lack of information by identifying ethnic enclaves about which little seems to have been published. Using this limited list of enclaves, students choose their group and place. To try to understand the reasons for settlement in those places, students then go into the areas and attempt to interview a few community leaders or older inhabitants. The student's task is difficult. The memory of older residents has faded and is selective, and many long-time residents simply do not know how and why the enclave began. Although the student's quest usually provokes pleased interest on the part of informants, sometimes students are met with suspicion. Not surprisingly, students are frequently unable to determine the ultimate reasons for the enclave's location, origin, and development. Nevertheless, it is a good exercise to move students out of the classroom and show them firsthand the existence of ethnic communities and geographies with which they had been unfamiliar.

Comparative Ethnic Characteristics at the Tract Level

Three reasons support this exercise: (1) to acquaint students with census data on ethnic groups at the tract level, (2) to show students ways of presenting comparative data in tables and graphs, and (3) to have students determine the extent of differences between two groups within the same neighborhood. In the process, students write their interpretations of the differences and similari-

ties of the ethnic groups.

By focusing on just one census tract, students can see what, if any, differences between groups remain after eliminating the factor of different location. Our urban models in geography, which emphasize the relative homogeneity of population and housing within census tracts, suggest the absence of differences between ethnic groups in the same small area. Student analysis of one tract, however, frequently shows quite large differences in, e.g., median age, educational attainment, income level, percentage foreign-born.

The census has separate tables for the characteristics of whites (or non-Hispanic whites), African Americans, American Indians, Asian and Pacific Islanders, and Hispanics in all census tracts where the group numbers more than 400 persons. Students choose one tract that has data for at least two groups, such as non-Hispanic whites and Latinos. Ideally, this should be a tract with which the students are somewhat familiar. Then, students record key characteristics of the two groups within that same tract and the comparable characteristics of the groups for the county as a whole.

I previously selected several potential demographic, social, and economic variables widely used to characterize ethnic populations, such as median age, educational attainment, median income and residential mobility. Students choose from my list the specific variables they wish to investigate. Comparison with the county averages shows the context of tract-level comparisons and whether or not the tract seems to reflect county-wide averages.

Differences between groups within the same tract lead to the obvious question—why? In many cases, but not always, the differences between groups within a tract reflect county-wide differences between the groups. When the tract does not mirror the county, then the question becomes more specifically geographic: What characteristics about the location of this tract make it atypical? Perhaps a visit to the tract can help answer these questions.

Field Experiences

In the Ethnic Los Angeles course I lead four field trips. I provide handouts about the main features and their historical and geographic settings. Students make a fifth field trip on their own (or, preferably, with friends or family for company and comfort), following my written directions and interpretive guide. For all five field trips, students complete a 2-to-4-page report of their observations and reactions, concentrating on those aspects of greatest interest to them.

Because geography students—like the rest of us—tend to live their lives within a relatively small portion of the local area, getting out into unfamiliar territory makes a lot of sense. Almost all appreciate the experience. We examine commercial areas, middle-income and poor residential areas for different groups, the history of invasion and succession in various areas, and nearby employment opportunities. Our visits also include such features as massive factories abandoned as part of economic restructuring, old-style public housing projects, and newer, privately-owned Section 8 federally subsidized housing.

Scheduling the seminar from 2:00-5:00 p.m. once a week and car-pooling in student cars makes the field experience easy and relatively unencumbered, although I do have students sign liability releases. We have experienced no problems in three years of taking caravans of three or four cars through all major sections of Los Angeles during the daytime, with carefully selected stops for explorations on foot.

We drive through typical residential and commercial areas, walk through selected neighborhoods and shopping centers, everywhere trying to connect the landscape and people we see with what we have read and imagined about the area. Most of our time is spent in very unfamiliar areas, including places consciously avoided by students because of fear of crime. There is some truth in many such perceptions, but television's focus on crime, drug-dealing, and the dangers of low-income minority areas has blinded us to the fact that these areas are also home for many hard-working people, including members of the middle-class. In most cases, students have later

commented that the field trip helped to change their images of such areas.

The most dramatic case of an area not conforming to its image is the poor section of Los Angeles called South Central, which includes the Watts area. Although Watts and surrounding portions of South Central still lack the job opportunities available elsewhere, services have become much more available, especially since the May 1992 riots.

The landscape of Watts and South Central is no longer just blighted churches, modest bungalows with iron bars and graffiti, and barely surviving mom-and-pop stores selling groceries and liquor. Scattered around and located at certain nodes are a new library, apartment buildings, shopping centers, supermarkets, and banks. Bus lines take residents along major corridors in the area for 25 cents. Ironically, these changes have been virtually unreported by newspaper or TV media, underscoring the value of direct observation without relying on someone else's reporting. Because the various factors behind these new developments and the effects of the changes are not at all clear, without further investigation students can only speculate about the reasons for them.

Until this last year, I managed to arrange at least one special visit and talk for each field trip. For instance, we have visited garment and furniture factories and had discussions with the managers about the changing geography of manufacturing and labor characteristics and costs. We have also heard talks by realtors serving particular ethnic populations, a social worker helping with the social adjustment of Chinese immigrants, and a director of a local Fair Housing Council telling us about the nature of housing discrimination. On other occasions, we discussed problems of neighborhood improvement with a deputy councilman and directors of a neighborhood economic development corporation. Interesting discussions have followed each of these exchanges.

Such visits have been immensely illuminating for all of us. They did, however, require a good deal of time for me to arrange because I did not want to impose on a gracious host a request to repeat the visit the next year. I have, however, concluded that such preplanned visits are not necessary. This last year I omitted the planned visits and talks, and I think that students gained almost as much from simply being in the area together with my interpretation of what we were seeing.

Conclusion

We have briefly looked at four ways of focusing on ethnicity within the local area by emphasizing the positions of different ethnic groups in the larger social and geographic structure. The four ways are (1) mapping of ethnic populations, (2) uncovering local settlement histories, (3) comparing ethnic group characteristics in a single neighborhood, and (4) conducting field experiences in little-known parts of the city.

All four techniques are highly geographical and involve direct use of maps, primary census data for comparing ethnic groups in places, talks with members of ethnic communities, or field visits to areas dominated by different ethnic groups. Nothing is fancy or esoteric about these techniques. Rather, they are recommended as straightforward ways to use local resources to improve students' awareness of the complex patterns and interrelationships involved in urban ethnic geography.

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CHAPTER 9

The Urban Laboratory: Field-Based Teaching of Urban Ethnic Geography

Ines M. Miyares

New York City is a city of ethnic neighborhoods, ethnic enclaves, and urban ethnic villages. Historically, it has been the principal port of entry for immigrants to the United States. Tourists and scholars alike flock to neighborhoods such as Chinatown, Little Italy, and Harlem, often with preconceived notions of who lives there and what the landscape will look like. With few exceptions, New York City's ethnic communities are dynamic, reflecting constant change in settlement patterns and modification of the built environment. This vitality can limit one's ability to rely solely on census data for gaining an accurate understanding of the residential patterns, population characteristics, and socioeconomic status of selected ethnic groups. The purpose of this study is to describe a methodology for examining a city's ethnic neighborhoods by combining census data and field work, thereby using the city as an urban laboratory for studying ethnic geography. This project applies the scientific method to ethnic geography field research in such a way that it can be adapted to most grade levels.

Ethnic neighborhoods are excellent laboratories for teaching concepts such as landscape, sequent occupance, ethnic economies, immigration, and migration. I will first discuss how to select an ethnic neighborhood to study. Second, I will describe the components of a neighborhood study in terms of the foregoing concepts listed above and the geographic standards each component teaches. I will close with a case study of a New York City neighborhood, Brighton Beach in southern Brooklyn, which includes the various components to be discussed.

The Brighton Beach case study is based on data collected by students in a Population Geography course at Hunter College in Manhattan and by sixth-grade students at the Bay Academy of Arts and Sciences housed in James Reynolds Middle School in Sheepshead Bay, Brooklyn. The field and cartographic methods are adaptable to most grade levels and geographic settings and address 10 of the 18 standards listed in *Geography for Life: National Geography Standards* (1994).

Brooklyn middle school students studying their neighborhood found a renewed sense of pride, discovery, and responsibility as they learned to see the landscape around them with new eyes. Geographic concepts became real to college students who participated in this study as they tested lecture and textbook materials on the streets of Brooklyn, using all their senses to collect data.

Step 1: Selecting a Neighborhood

The most important component of this project is selecting a site. New York City is unique in several ways. The diversity of the ethnic mosaic in New York City is greater than in any other city in the United States. More than 120 nationalities have been identified in the Borough of Queens alone (Kaufman 1995). The economic landscape of nearly every neighborhood reflects the ethnic group residing there. Also, most neighborhoods have high to medium population densities and mixed commercial and residential uses, often in the same buildings. In cities with lower densities and distinct residential and commercial zoning, landscape observations may not be as obvious as they are in New York.

Selecting a neighborhood for study varies according to grade level, class composition, and receptivity of the neighborhood. Teachers in K-3 classes may want to focus on the block on which the school is located. The number of blocks and the distance from the school can increase with age of the students and safety of the neighborhood. It is critical that parents be aware that this

field-based project will be conducted as a field trip. Once informed, parents may offer to assist in the project.

In a college setting, students conduct field work in teams or independently and are responsible for their own transportation. In New York City, distance limits potential areas for study to those readily accessible by public transportation because few students own cars. It is also essential to select a neighborhood in which all students participating in the project will feel safe. A neighborhood may seem interesting to the course instructor but may place students at risk. My measure for safety in selecting a neighborhood is whether I as a white Hispanic woman feel safe walking alone there at night. If so, I feel comfortable sending students there by day.

Local residents can view neighborhood-based field work as invasive. Interesting places are often over-studied. An important criterion for selecting a neighborhood is whether so much research has been conducted there that residents feel on display. Resentment builds on the part of residents and students will not gain the breadth of experience this project provides. An example of where this situation has occurred is Guadalupe, Arizona, a small, very impoverished city surrounded by Tempe and Phoenix. So many students from Arizona State University and the various Maricopa community colleges have been sent to study Guadalupe that the city has posted signs that prohibits taking photographs. Geography is a visual science, and students will need to be free to capture the landscape on film.

Step 2: Preliminary Mapping and Development of Hypotheses (Standards 1-3, 9)

Once you have selected a neighborhood, you should use various types of maps for developing hypotheses about the ethnic composition of the neighborhood. The decennial Census of Population and Housing reports data at a number of spatial scales including nation, state, county, census tract, block group, and ZIP code. Census tract and block group maps are often available through a city's planning department. When used in conjunction with street maps, one can identify which census tracts comprise the selected neighborhood.

Census data are available in the government documents sections of libraries or through the Internet. The Census Bureau homepage (http://www.census.gov) contains vast amounts of information including the Summary Tape Files (STF) (http://venus.census.gov/cdrom/lookup) of the 1990 *Census of Population and Housing*. The summary tape files do not identify individual respondents, but they provide total numbers of responses by geographic unit. STF3A gives information by state, county, census tract, and block group, and STF3B presents it by ZIP code.

Census data paint a picture of population, housing, and socioeconomic characteristics of the neighborhood. It is essential to communicate to students that census data are several years out of date by the time they are published and should be treated as a baseline. Using these data, students can hypothesize about who they will see in the neighborhood, what languages they will hear, the types of businesses present, and the cultural landscape characteristics they expect to see.

Using census data also allows for interdisciplinary teaching, particularly with mathematics. Census data can be presented in a number of ways: tables, graphs, pie charts, bar charts, fractions, and percentages. These data can be mapped thematically using choropleth, dot density, and graduated symbol techniques.

Step 3: The Neighborhood as a Place (Standards 4-6, 10, 12)

The most effective way to know what to look for in the field is to study the culture of the ethnic group prior to visiting the neighborhood. Students will then be well prepared to identify the ways in which residents have created a familiar milieu in the new setting.

Neighborhoods can share ethnic, linguistic, religious, socioeconomic, and infrastructural characteristics. Social and political functions such as schools, elections, and urban planning often create

the boundaries of a neighborhood. As a neighborhood develops, both residents and nonresidents perceive its identity and envision similar mental maps of its boundaries.

Scholars characterize urban ethnic places in four ways: urban village, ethnic neighborhood, ethnic enclave, and ethnic communality. Gans (1965: 5) classified neighborhoods as urban villages in which rural immigrants adapt their nonurban institutions and cultures to the urban milieu. Portes and Bach (1985: 204-5) differentiated between ethnic neighborhoods and ethnic enclaves according to economic characteristics. Ethnic neighborhoods address social needs of immigrants, but economic functions are limited to specialized consumption needs. For an ethnic neighborhood to be an ethnic enclave, a highly differentiated entrepreneurial class must be present. Miyares (1994) defined an ethnic enclave as a volitionally formed ethnic community with a viable internal social, economic, and political system. The ethnic enclave's primary function is that of an adaptational settlement that holistically facilitates acculturation. An ethnic communality has a dispersed settlement pattern but maintains community and shared identity through social institutions (McClenahan 1946).

After identifying who resided in the neighborhood at the time of the most recent census, students hypothesize about what type of place the neighborhood might be. If the immigrants who settled there were from nonurban areas, the neighborhood may function as an urban village. Students should discuss what types of social interactions they would expect to see in a village in a rural area and how they would manifest themselves in the city. If the immigrants were from urban areas, students should hypothesize as to whether they expect to find an ethnic neighborhood or an ethnic enclave.

In older cities, it is rare that an ethnic group currently residing in a neighborhood is the one that constructed the housing. Sequences of occupation are often evident, however, through modifications of housing stock, storefronts, and street signs. Common landscape indicators used by ethnic groups to create an ethnic place are colors, flags, symbols, home country toponyms, and script. Sign geography (Weightman 1988) becomes one of the most powerful tools in determining what type of ethnic place has been established in the neighborhood.

Many ethnic and racial groups use particular colors to declare their identity on the landscape. Red is an important color in Chinese culture and is prevalent as a landscape signature in Chinatowns. African-American neighborhoods commonly have signage in bold red, yellow, green, and black. Italian and Mexican businesses often use red, green, and white, the colors of their national flags. Similarly, the most commonly used colors in Greek neighborhoods are blue and white. Storefronts may display the flag of the country of origin or may use national shields, coats of arms, or other symbols clearly identified with that country. In naming businesses, entrepreneurs use home-country toponyms as a form of advertising to the ethnic community they desire to serve.

Linguistic script on business and street signs is also a strong indicator of the ethnic group residing in the neighborhood. The more dominant an ethnic group is in the neighborhood's economy, the more likely the language on signs will be in the native language of that group. If English is also used, the English translation is often written in smaller letters, indicating that the target market is the ethnic community. As an ethnic community gains political as well as economic power, city governments might translate street signs into the native language of the immigrant group. In some cases, the English signs disappear altogether.

Step 4: Testing Hypotheses in the Field

Although not practical in all urban neighborhoods, the most effective way to conduct field work is on foot. Walking allows students to use all of their senses to make observations. Thirty young researchers entering business establishments, however, may meet resistance by local residents and entrepreneurs. Dividing the group into teams is less intrusive and increases the level of participation of all class members.

Each team should have a recorder, a student who writes down observations made concerning signs, language use in stores, smells, colors, housing styles, symbols, and names of businesses. Students should record anything they consider an observation whether or not the instructor considers it important. Photographs of signs, businesses, and "house-scapes" (Arreola 1988) capture images of the landscape for later discussion. Portable tape recorders allow students to conduct impromptu interviews with neighborhood residents and business owners.

The field exercise also opens the door for teaching economic geography concepts such as the relationship between locations of businesses and major transportation routes (Standard 11). Some urban neighborhoods have both formal and informal economies. In New York City, thousands of licensed street vendors and tens of thousands of unlicensed vendors, particularly among the most recent immigrants, ply their goods. The practice of negotiating a price, prevalent in much of the world, may have diffused to the urban neighborhood under study.

Ethnic neighborhoods often have two sets of stores—those where the signage is in English and the sales staff cater to nonresidents and those where most, if not all, the advertising and sales are in the language of the country of origin. In cases where the neighborhood's trade language is written in a different alphabet, names of businesses may be transliterated into the Roman alphabet, for example, Elegant Moda, a women's clothing store in Brighton Beach (Fig. 9.1). *Moda* is Russian for clothes. Students or parents who speak the neighborhood's language are typically eager to serve as translators. If no translators are available, dictionaries are helpful in interpreting signs.

Religious symbols often serve as cultural landscape signatures. Homes in Mediterranean and Latin American Catholic and Greek Orthodox neighborhoods commonly have shrines to the Virgin Mary near the front entrance. Buddhist homes and businesses often have conspicuously located shrines to ancestors, whereas Orthodox Jewish businesses, particularly kosher delicatessens, display the Star of David.

Figure 9.1. Elegant Moda combines English and Russian as a store name.

Gardens can also reflect the ethnicity of the neighborhood, but the presence or absence of a garden should not be used as a definitive indicator of ethnic settlement patterns. Many urban neighborhoods do not have lawns or gardens, or many have gardens behind row houses, making them difficult for students to examine. Particular plants can also serve as landscape signatures of more than one group. In the West and Southwest, roses are common in Mexican neighborhoods, whereas in New York City, roses and tomatoes suggest Italians reside there.

Step 5: Putting It All Together

Once students have collected data, they are ready to evaluate their hypotheses. This aspect of the scientific method will help students organize their observations and make conclusions as to the type of ethnic place and the prevalence of the dominant ethnic group on the landscape. In the case of an ethnic enclave, for example, the dominant ethnic group may not be the sole group residing there, but they are in control of the economy.

The potential for classroom discussion and presentation of observations is limited only by time and the creativity of the teachers involved in the project. Students can use photographs, tables, charts, and maps effectively to tell powerful stories. Through oral and written presentations, students can compare hypotheses to observations. Teachers may choose to showcase student posters and maps at parent nights and social science fairs and during Geography Awareness Week. Local newspapers and school newspapers may also be interested in featuring the work students have done in studying the neighborhood. Field observations may lead students to develop a community service or neighborhood improvement project to benefit the area under study.

Case Study: How Russian Is Brighton Beach?

Brighton Beach is a small neighborhood in southern Brooklyn located between Coney Island, Manhattan Beach, and Sheepshead Bay (Fig. 9.2). I selected Brighton Beach for study because its business district is within walking distance of James Reynolds Middle School. Residents originally developed the area in the 1860s as a beach resort with the Hotel Brighton and the Brighton Beach Racetrack as its principal attractions. In the early 1900s, developers added a beach boardwalk with private baths, tennis, and entertainment. By the 1920s, population growth in New York City led to medium-density residential development in Brighton Beach. Over time, wood-frame houses and bungalows replaced the racetrack. In-migrants to Brighton Beach were primarily Jews from Brownsville and East New York in Brooklyn and from Manhattan's Lower East Side (Jackson 1995).

Changes in Soviet emigration policies in the 1970s and 1980s led approximately 30,000 Jews to settle in the Coney Island-Brighton Beach-Sheepshead Bay area. Many were from Odessa in Ukraine, drawn to their New York location by the proximity to the ocean. A large proportion of these educated Soviet Jews resettled as refugees arrived with professional and entrepreneurial skills and with initial financial support through refugee assistance programs. These former Soviet Jews bought businesses along Brighton Beach Avenue and its side streets, and, over the next decade, the trade language and signage became increasingly Russian.

The focus of this case study was to identify the type of ethnic place Brighton Beach has become. Using census data by city, ZIP code, and census tract, students examined the size and distribution of the Russian and Ukrainian populations in New York. Field observations were made along Brighton Beach Avenue between Ocean Parkway and Coney Island Avenue, Brighton Beach's primary commercial district.

Population Distribution

Brighton Beach and Sheepshead Bay comprise ZIP code 11235, an area with a 1990 population of 66,722, or 0.9 percent of New York City's population. Ethnically, the neighborhood is very diverse, but the largest single ethnic group is Russian. As Table 9.1 shows, a large proportion of

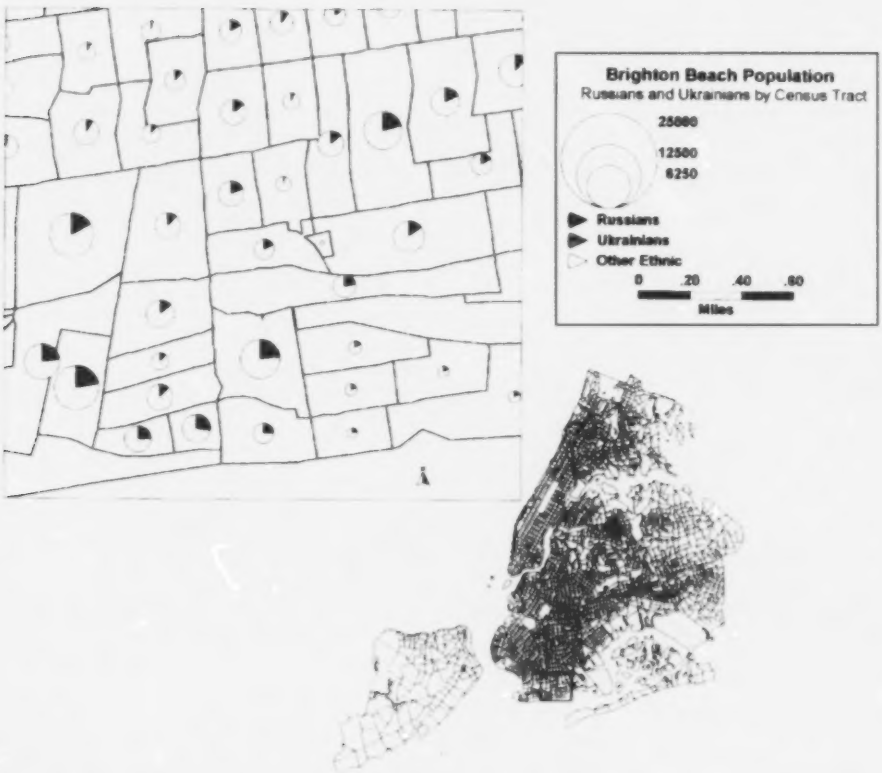

Figure 9.2. Russian and Ukrainian populations in Brighton Beach, 1990. Source: 1990 *United States Census of Population and Housing STF 3A.*

the city's Russian population lived there in 1990. No census tracts, however, have Russians as the majority population (Fig. 9.2). Other European ethnic groups, Hispanics, particularly from Puerto Rico, and Chinese are also present in large numbers (Table 9.2).

	New York City	Zip Code 11235	Percent
Total Population	7,322,564	66,722	0.9
Russians	238,401	11,479	4.8
Ukrainians	24,438	679	2.8

Table 9.1. Russian and Ukrainian populations in Brighton Beach, 1990 (first ancestry reported). Source: *1990 United States Census of Population and Housing* STF 3A.

Ethnic Origin	Population
Italian	6,986
Hispanic	5,677
Puerto Rican	2,391
Polish	4,717
Chinese	3,416
Irish	2,000

Table 9.2. Other major ethnic groups in Zip Code 11235, 1990 (first ancestry reported). Source: *1990 Census of Population and Housing* STF 3B.

Half the population speaks a language other than English in the home—Russian is the most common foreign language, followed by Spanish, Yiddish, and Chinese (Table 9.3). Approximately 40 percent of the neighborhood's population is foreign born, with 28.6 percent of those having immigrated after 1970.

Language	Number of speakers, 5 years and over
English only	33,455
Russian	10,595
Spanish	5,020
Yiddish	3,324
Chinese	2,975
Polish	1,044

Table 9.3. Languages spoken in homes in Zip Code 11235, 1990. Source: *1990 Census of Population and Housing* STF 3B

Hypotheses:

1. Russian language and cultural indicators will be prevalent on the landscape.
2. Signs in Spanish will also be seen throughout the business district.
3. In addition to Russians, the presence of Puerto Ricans, Chinese, and Italians will be evident on the cultural and economic landscape.
4. Because the Russian population is comprised primarily of Soviet Jews, many of whom having been educated as professionals prior to emigrating, a Russian entrepreneurial class will have created a Russian economic enclave.

Field Observations

The primary business district in Brighton Beach lies along the seven blocks of Brighton Beach Avenue between Ocean Parkway and Coney Island Avenue. There are 165 identifiable businesses in storefronts and varying numbers of formal and informal street vendors. With the exception of Jewish holidays, the street is a bustling business district offering a variety of retail stores, restaurants, and professional services.

Three languages are heard in stores and on the street—Russian, Spanish, and English. Spanish is heard among employees in the various discount stores and the 12 Korean-owned green groceries (vegetable and fruit stands). Korean green grocers are found throughout New York City. It is not unusual for them to employ Central and South American immigrants. Spanish is also heard among a small proportion of the shopping population. The dominant trade language among both vendors and shoppers is Russian. English is also spoken, but rarely without an immigrant accent.

English is the principal language on store and business signs, but 67 of the enterprises have at least a portion of their signs in another language. Twenty-nine have signs entirely in Russian, and 30 have a portion in Russian (Fig. 9.3). Three have signs partially in Hebrew and four in Spanish. Only one of the businesses with Spanish signs is ethnic-specific: a *curandera* and *botanica*, a traditional healer who sells herbs, candles, statues, and other artifacts for Afro-Carib religious practices such as Santeria.

Professional services, including medical, dental, legal, and insurance offices, are prevalent along the seven-block strip. The strip has 27 such offices, nearly all of which have at least a portion of their signs in Russian (Fig. 9.4). Twenty-three restaurants are on the seven-block strip, including 11 Russian, one Ukrainian, and one Georgian restaurant. Among the other 10, five are coffee shops, three are take-out pizza parlors, and two are Chinese take-out restaurants. Because Chinese take-out restaurants and pizza parlors are ubiquitous, they are not good indicators of the Chinese and Italian populations enumerated by the census. One store has an Italian name—"Domani Discount Store." Russians, however, currently own and operate it.

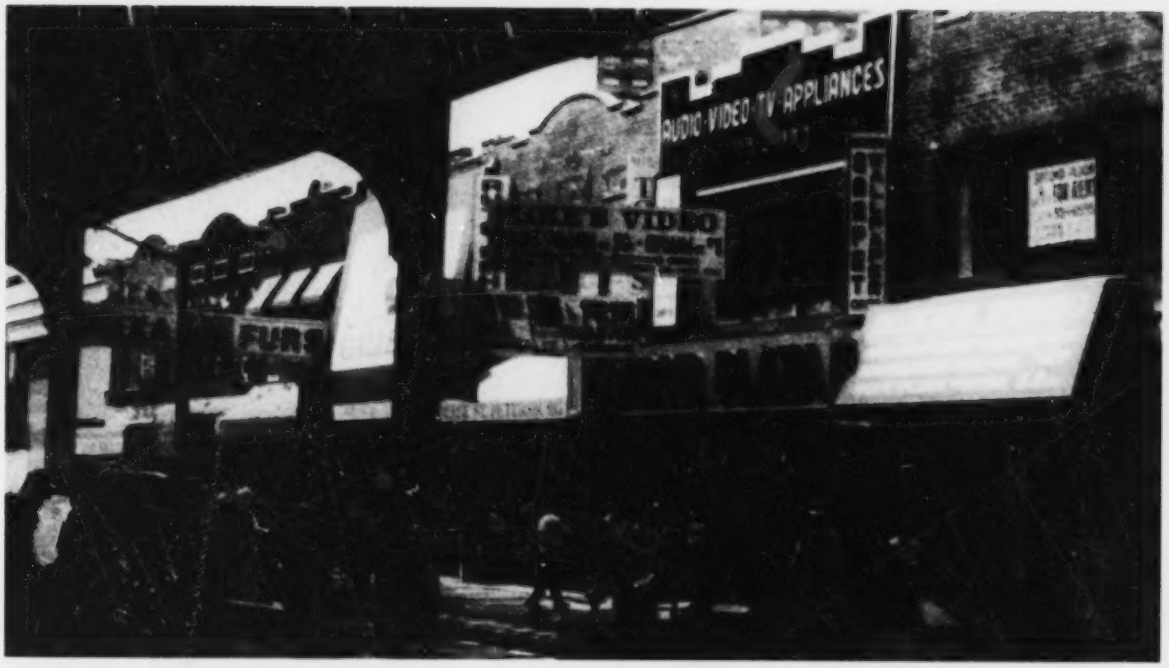

Figure 9.3. Russian and English are used on store signs. The banner concerning street cleanliness is in English, Chinese, Spanish, and Russian (center).

Figure 9.4. A dental office specifically targets a Russian clientele.

Toponyms and cultural symbols often link the immigrant neighborhood to the native country. Along Brighton Beach Avenue, six businesses have place names: Taste of Russia (a specialty grocer), Cafe St. Petersburg, Georgian Deli and Restaurant, Cafe Ukraine, Black Sea Bookstore, and Israel Kosher Foods. Both Taste of Russia and the Moscow Restaurant on the boardwalk have pictures of St. Basil's Cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin on their canopies.

National flags, commonly seen in other New York City neighborhoods, are seen only on residential blocks. Nearly all are Puerto Rican flags, a tradition seen in most neighborhoods with Puerto Rican populations.

Implications

Brighton Beach is a Russian ethnic enclave with a strong entrepreneurial class providing retail and professional services to Russians and non-Russians alike (Fig. 9.5). Russians are over-represented on the economic landscape, indicating their economic strength relative to other ethnic groups in the neighborhood. Evidence of the Puerto Rican population is on the landscape, and Central and South Americans are visible in retail stores and groceries. The strength of the Russian economy has not prevented niche businesses such as Korean green grocers from diffusing into Brighton Beach. Around the corner, the economic landscape changes significantly. Coney Island Avenue has several Russian-owned businesses within a few blocks of Brighton Beach Avenue, but a number of Mexican, Indian, Bengali, and Pakistani businesses are found on subsequent blocks.

Conclusions

Teaching ethnic geography goes beyond showing students how to develop maps using census data. Ethnicity is expressed on the landscape in a number of ways—language, script, cultural symbols, toponyms, foods, color, house-scapes—which we can appreciated only through field obser-

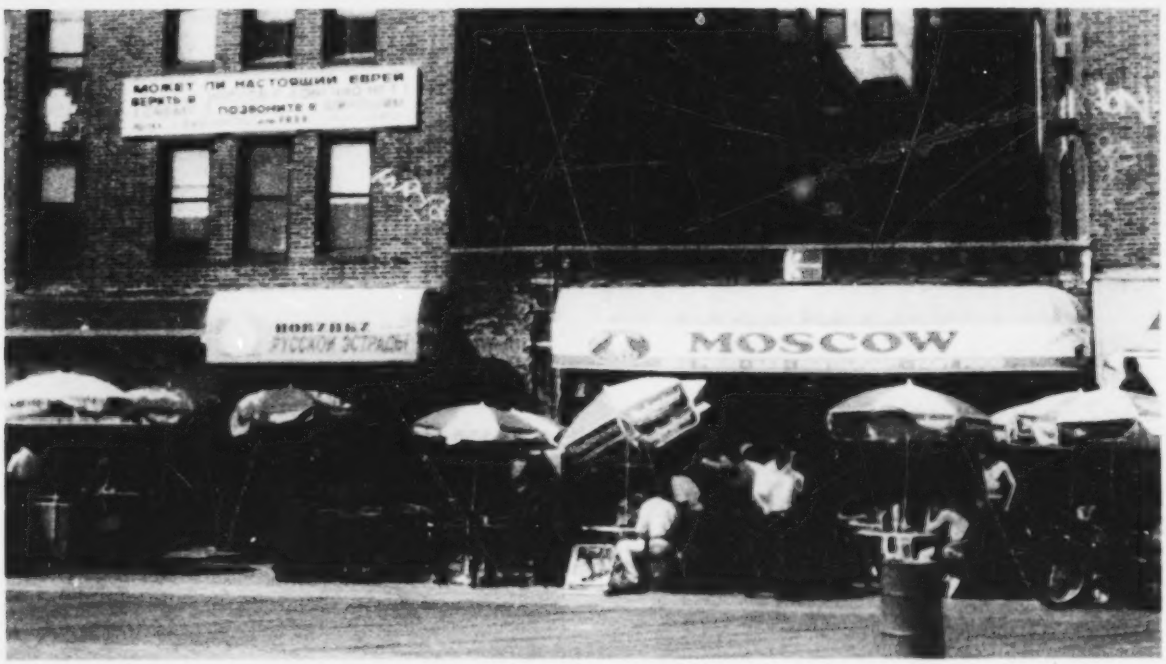

Figure 9.5. Toponyms, Russian cultural symbols, and signs in Russian only are common along the Brighton Beach Boardwalk.

vation. The urban laboratory teaches students how immigrants create a new place by transforming a neighborhood's landscape to reflect their culture.

This field project teaches students links between ethnic settlement patterns and ethnic landscapes. The first and most important step is selecting a location and defining the spatial criteria for the project. The streets chosen for field study strongly influence the observations and conclusions made. The goal of the project, however, is not to make definitive statements about the ethnicity of a neighborhood. The key is to teach students to take the scientific method outside of the classroom into the urban laboratory to learn to see how ethnic groups manifest themselves on the urban landscape.

Acknowledgments

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CHAPTER 10

Hispano Ethnicity Viewed through the Window of El Cerrito

Richard L. Nostrand

No road sign announces the way to tiny El Cerrito. No standard New Mexico road map locates the isolated village. One must listen carefully to directions for finding either dirt road that goes to the village. For once you leave the paved highway, following the two dirt ruts as they wind across the mesa will take the better part of half an hour. Finally and quite suddenly you reach the edge of a high cliff. Below you is the Pecos River quietly meandering in three tight loops through an open circular valley. In the middle is a small hill called El Cerrito. On a terrace near where the Pecos enters this natural amphitheater is the tiny village named for the hill.

I first crossed that bumpy mesa road late one afternoon in October 1979. My purpose was to select five villages from a list of fifty that I would return to the next spring. I was especially interested in El Cerrito because two sociologists, Olen Leonard and Charles Loomis, had lived there in 1940 and had written a classic study about the village. I also knew that since 1940 many small isolated villages in New Mexico had been abandoned, and I feared El Cerrito was one. So my sense of excitement heightened as I slowly descended the southern entry to the village. To my absolute delight I saw people. The two who I met, El Cerrito's only Anglos, understood my research interest in their village. They invited me to return; indeed, they would alert their Spanish neighbors of my plans. This chance encounter was my good fortune, for months later I learned that the Spanish neighbors systematically ran off intruders like me. As I drove out of El Cerrito well after dark that crisp October night, I thanked those bright stars above me.

I lived in El Cerrito for two months in that spring of 1980. During the 1980s my frequent visits included taking groups of students to El Cerrito on what became ten annual five-day field trips. For many of us at the University of Oklahoma, tiny El Cerrito became a big window for viewing Hispano ethnicity and the Hispano subculture. Here were examples of the old indigenous subculture that characterized Greater New Mexico, setting it apart from the recent immigrant Mexican-American subculture found from California to Texas (Fig. 10.1). Isolated and well preserved, El

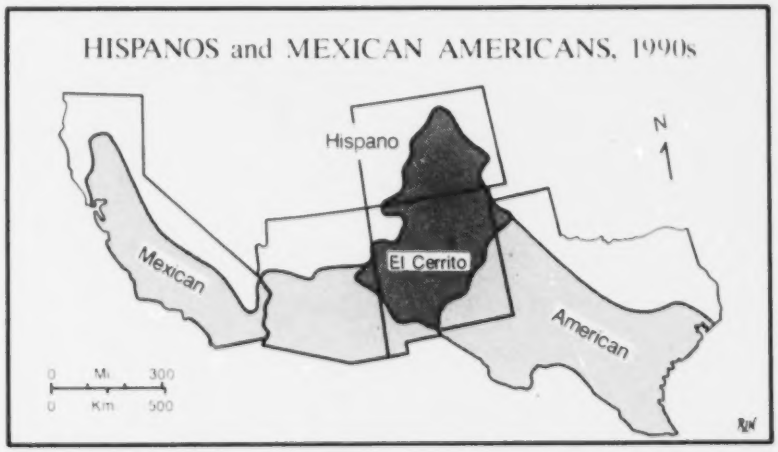

Figure 10.1. Hispanos and Mexican Americans, 1990s. The 500,000 Hispanos of Greater New Mexico are relatively few compared to the 10 million Mexican Americans living between California and Texas. Areas settled are approximations.

Cerrito also became our window on the past. What follows, then, is a day-by-day composite of those ten field trips. Each trip was different but all were valuable for coming to grips with why Hispanos are distinctive.

Day One

Ethnicity means a shared feeling of peoplehood. The feeling of peoplehood Hispanos share is wrapped up in their Spanishness. As early as the Mexican era (1821-1846), Hispanos in New Mexico wished to avoid Anglo discrimination directed at Mexicans, meaning them. In a reactive way they cultivated an identity with their Spanishness, a claim that seemed legitimate because of their deep roots in Spanish New Mexico and their peculiar Spanish culture brought from Spain, yet a claim that made them no more Spanish than their Mexican-American brethren, and certainly not Spanish racially. Meanwhile, in the twentieth-century Mexicans in Mexico cultivated an identity with their Mexicanness, which included their Indian heritage. Ironically, then, although New Mexicans cultivated their Spanishness, Mexicans in Mexico cultivated their Mexicanness, and by the 1920s it was no less insulting to call a Mexican in Mexico "Spanish" than it was to call a Spanish American in New Mexico "Mexican." Today, many Mexican Americans in the United States Borderlands, especially the younger Chicano element, take offense at the pretense of superiority that the Spanish ethnic identity of Hispanos implies. Hispanos, however, have the right to choose their ethnic identity, however legitimate it may or may not be. I try to explain these differences in ethnic identity in class before day one.

On day one we are in a fifteen-passenger van driving toward that stronghold of Spanishness. El Cerrito is exactly 500 miles (804.5 km) from the University of Oklahoma (OU) campus in Norman. As we speed west on I-40 with Brock Brown's hands usually gripping the steering wheel (Brock was a student on the first trip and volunteered to be on board for six more), I point out that we are making five transitions, all pertinent to understanding El Cerrito. We are rising in elevation from the low plains at about 1,000 feet (865 meters) above sea level at Norman to the western edge of the high plains at nearly 6,000 feet (1,829 meters) at El Cerrito. As we ascend and get farther from the Gulf of Mexico, average annual precipitation decreases—from some 33 inches (72.8 cm) at Norman to less than 15 inches (37.1 cm) at El Cerrito. We cross that all-important 20-inch (50.8-cm) rainfall line, the line that marks where the West begins, in the Texas panhandle. Scant and unreliable precipitation in El Cerrito, I note, means that crops must be irrigated. As precipitation decreases the natural vegetation cover changes from post oak and prairie to steppe grass and either desert shrub or juniper-piñon, depending on the elevation. So, too, does agricultural land use change—from dry-farmed wheat in western Oklahoma to irrigated cotton and grain sorghum over the Ogallala aquifer in Texas to cattle ranching in New Mexico. Finally, the density of people declines from more than six to less than six per square mile (or 2.59/sq km). Making note of these transitions, the cook committee meanwhile plans a number of our meals, collects $10 a head, and creates a shopping list for our stop at a supermarket in Tucumcari.

Although everyone is a bit road weary by late afternoon when we reach the edge of the mesa above El Cerrito, we make one stop. On bedrock near the road at precisely the point where we first see the valley below is a bronze bench mark that reads exactly 5,800 feet (1,768 m). Noting that El Cerrito lies 150 feet (45.7 m) below us prompts several observations: El Cerrito is near the upper end of the steppe grass and juniper-piñon life zone that spans from 4,500 to 6,000 feet (1,371-1,824 m) above sea level. The so-called *jacal* fences in El Cerrito are made of juniper posts set vertically on end. The *vigas* or ceiling beams hewn from Ponderosa pine must come from elevations above 6,000 feet (1,824 m). At 5,650 feet (1,723 m) and 35° of latitude the growing season lasts five months, from roughly 10 May to 10 October.

Deciduous fruits such as peaches and apricots, also hardy vegetables like chile and corn, mature nicely here. Winters are long and cold, however, and, to care for their livestock, Hispanos built livestock shelters as well as the common open corral. In this way they differed from Tejanos

and Californios who also raised livestock, but at lower elevations where such shelters were not needed. Hispanos also differed in raising sheep instead of longhorn cattle. Perhaps sheep were better adapted to New Mexico's rugged highlands, but it is also reported that Hispanos favored sheep because, unlike cattle, sheep were slow and resisted stampeding at the hands of Indian raiders.

Day Two

Day two begins half-way up the side of the mesa just west of the village. Below us lies Tract 1 of the San Miguel del Vado Grant (Fig. 10.2). In 1794, the governor in Santa Fe awarded 52 families a community land grant that straddled the Pecos River. San Miguel became their parent village, and from it settlers founded El Cerrito in 1824, the last of the downstream villages within the grant. When the San Miguel del Vado Grant was finally adjudicated in the Court of Private Land Claims in 1904, only the 117.65 acres (47.6 hectares) held privately by Los Cerriteños as agricultural fields [approximately 113 acres (45.7 ha) of floodplain] or as house lots called *solares* [approximately five acres (c. 2 ha) of village] were awarded. This was Tract 1. The thousands of acres of mesa land that all people on the grant held in common were denied because, it was argued, unallocated common lands, according to Spanish law, were to revert to the King of Spain, and should now revert to the federal government. This judgment created a hardship because the men of El Cerrito herded sheep on the common lands. Although the carrying capacity was low in this semiarid environment (Anglos later figured it to be one sheep per 25 acres or 10 hectares), villagers gained their livelihood from selling sheep and hauling wool in wagons to Las Vegas, New Mexico. Now the common lands became public domain and access to them gradually ended, a factor that contributed to El Cerrito's eventual demise.

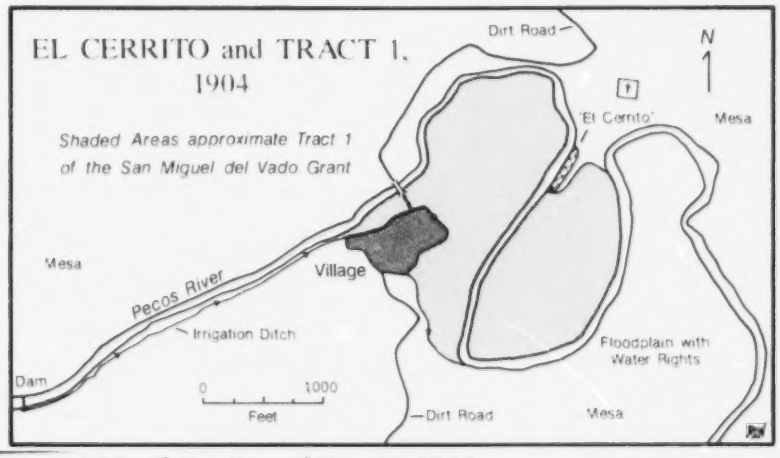

Figure 10.2. El Cerrito and Tract 1, 1904.
Tract 1 of the San Miguel del Vado Grant contains 117.65 acres (47.63 hectares) that include arable floodplain and the village. Dirt roads converge on the village from north and south.

From our vantage point we shift our attention to the layout of the village. According to the Laws of the Indies, the corners of open community plazas were to point at least weakly in the cardinal compass directions. The founders of El Cerrito apparently knew this. Because of El Cerrito's constricted site, however, villagers built their church in the middle of the *plaza* instead of facing it (Fig. 10.3). When El Cerrito was founded, hostile Native Americans posed a serious threat, explain-

ing why settlers built the earliest houses contiguously around the church and plaza with their windowless back sides facing out, a defensive feature known in New Mexico as a plaza. Eventually the village expanded beyond its original rectangle, and the contiguous row of houses on the south side seems to be explained by the fact that Hispanos were patrilocal, meaning that the bride in a new marriage joined the husband in his village. When the first child was born, the young man built a new house adjacent to his parents. Between the back sides of El Cerrito's houses and the irrigation ditch, which marks the edge of the village, were corrals and livestock shelters. El Cerrito is unusually compact for Hispano villages, and Hispanos differed from Tejanos and Californios because, like Spaniards in Spain, they lived in villages and not on isolated ranchos.

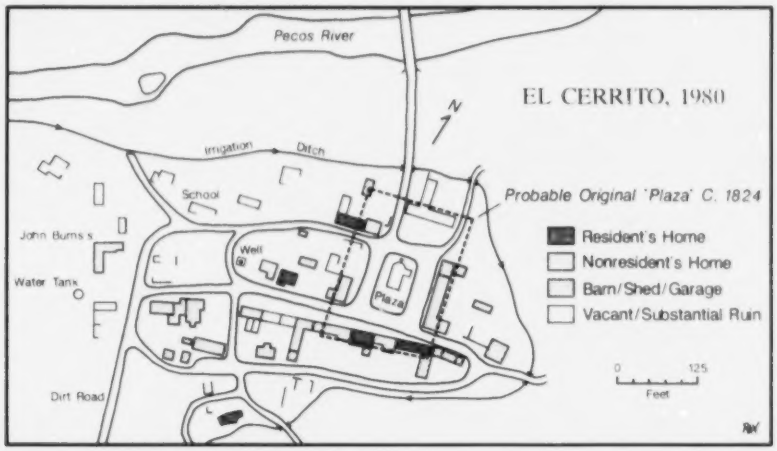

Figure 10.3. El Cerrito, 1980.
The church is located in the middle of the plaza (see north arrow for plaza orientation). El Cerrito's oldest remaining houses delineate the approximate original fortified *plaza*. The school no longer exists, and not shown are outhouses, greenhouses, driveways, corrals, and minor ruins.

We descend to the bottom of the hill, look at a Tract 1 stone marker behind John Burns's adobe house (where we sleep and eat), and then head straight to the church (Fig. 10.4). Margarita (Margie) Quintana, the *mayordoma*, cheerfully lends us the key. The cruciform footprint of the church is typical in Greater New Mexico, but the north-south orientation of the church, also the north-south orientation of the graves that surround it, is not. Most Hispano churches and cemeteries are oriented east-west so when a person faces the altar or is lying in a grave, he or she faces the Holy Land. About 1933, when Luis Aragón and his wife, Estefanita Quintana, gave mesa land for a new *camposanto* or cemetery, graves there were oriented east-west (Fig. 10.2). We observe that the church building is well kept even though it gets little use. Before El Cerrito was severely depopulated in the 1940s and 1950s, the priest gave services here once a month. Now he comes only for a rare wedding, an occasional funeral, and the annual *función* held on December 8, the day of El Cerrito's patron saint, *Nuestra Señora de Los Desamparados* (Our Lady of the Forsaken Ones). On a typical Sunday Margie Quintana presides over a modest service for a dozen villagers. In the early 1980s a *santo* carved from wood and painted in pastel colors hung on a church wall, but this example of a folk art that once flourished in New Mexico before 1850 has since been removed, perhaps because of its value.

If time permits before lunch, we make one more stop at the one-time school (Fig. 10.5). Built in about the 1880s, the school was of much importance. Children learned English here, something adults regarded as the school's main educational benefit. For dances on Saturday nights, villagers

Figure 10.4. The Church, 1941.
Los Cerriteños are shown in front of their church during Easter week in April 1941. The village population probably peaked at 320 about 1841. By 1941 there were 135 villagers, and today there are 35. Photograph by Irving Rusinow, National Archives Neg. 83-G-37865.

removed the partition that separated older and younger children in the one-room school. All villagers young and old came dressed in their best. The women and men positioned themselves along opposite walls, and when the Spanish folk music played by accordion, fiddle, and guitar began, men stepped forward to invite women to dance. Ramón (Ray) Esquibel, the schoolteacher in 1950-51, was on hand on our field trip in September 1988 to tell us these things. Young men came from far and wide to El Cerrito's dances, events that were everyone's favorite form of recreation and were also the major way for young people to meet a future spouse. Ray noted that the young men drank and smoked, and to disguise this they chewed mint leaves. Owing to El Cerrito's dwindling school-age population, the school was closed in the early 1950s, and children then rode buses to Villanueva. The Torres family bought the school building and used it to store hay that one day caught fire, destroying much of the structure. By 1980 the 18 by 30 foot (5.5 by 15.2 meters) building had only three partial adobe walls, and today they are gone altogether.

After lunch we visit the one-time house of Enrique Armijo, now owned by José (Joe) de Baca (Fig. 10.6). The construction of the one-story structure is an example of Hispano gender division of labor. Men made its adobe bricks on site and built the house, then women applied the protective outside plaster. Its three rooms are aligned in single file and are as wide as the *vigas* were long. The doors between the three rooms, also the two outside doors and windows found in their broad sides, are recessed within the thick adobe walls. Floors are made from wood planks, and a cast-iron wood burning stove *(estufa de leña)*, also a wood burning heater *(fogón)*, provide heat, although corner masonry fireplaces (known as *fogones)* were once typical. The bathroom is an outhouse. Apparently no houses, not even the church, had pitched roofs until the early twentieth century. All knew that flat roofs required shoveling after a snow. They also hung a *mantilla* (cotton cloth) at the ceiling to catch dust or leaks. As recently as 1941, however, many of El Cerrito's

Figure 10.5. The School, 1941.
The one-room school served grades 1-8 from the mid-1880s to the early 1950s. Beneath the plastered adobe walls is a concrete foundation that is all that remains of the school today. Photographed by Irving Rusinow, April 1941, National Archives Neg. 83-G-37874.

houses still had flat roofs, probably because roofing materials were not affordable. By 1980 all houses had pitched roofs. By 1980, however, few *hornos* or dome-shaped outdoor ovens once found in practically every yard survived. Spaniards had introduced the ovens to New Mexico for baking wheat bread (Fig. 10.6).

Until the village well was dug in 1949, houses in El Cerrito had no running water, and children hauled water in lard buckets from the *acequia* or irrigation ditch. This ditch, which is some 5,500 feet (1,677 meters) long, diverts from the Pecos River from behind a rock and cement dam three quarters of a mile (1.2 km) upstream (Fig. 10.2). Below the dam, the ditch swings away from the river to follow a less-steep downstream grade. Before it reaches the village the ditch clings to a vertical rock cliff some dozen feet above the river (Fig. 10.7a). Here, keeping one's balance on the narrow dirt ridge that separates the ditch from the river is a challenge as we walk the length of the ditch. Once a year, usually in late March, the ditch *mayordomo* shuts off the water flow at the dam. Three weeks later, on a designated Saturday about mid-April, all who have rights to water for irrigation are obligated to participate in cleaning the ditch. Along one side of the ditch the *mayordomo* has paced off and marked *tareas* that are three *varas* (ten feet—one vara is approximately 33 inches or about a meter) long. Starting at the dam, men using shovels square up the ditch floor one tarea at a time to the satisfaction of the *mayordomo,* then move downstream to the next available *tarea.* In April 1982, nine OU students and I helped 30 village men clean the ditch (Fig. 10.7b). Janita Fitz wished to make our class contribution 11 people, but it was clear that in Hispano society ditch cleaning is for men only.

Between the ditch and the river is arable floodplain, and this rich bottom land is for the most part carved into ribbon-like long lots for agriculture (Fig. 10.8). Long lots in New Mexico may have been an independent Hispano invention, for they apparently do not exist in Spain or Mexico. They

Figure 10.6. Village Houses, 1941.
The Manuel Armijo house is in the middle of the photograph at the bottom of the hill. Midway between it and the church is El Cerrito's only two-story house, which no longer stands. An *horno* can be seen just behind the front-gable end of the church. Photograph by Irving Rusinow, April 1941, National Archives Neg. 83-G-37795.

Figures 10.7a and b. The Ditch.
In 10.7a the ditch is filled with water and clings to a rock cliff; photograph by Richard L. Nostrand, 7 May 1980.
In 10.7b OU students use shovels to clean the ditch; photograph by Richard L. Nostrand, 17 April 1982.

are a rather ingenious adaptation to the environment. First, they are equitable because everyone has access to irrigation water, the lifeline for agriculture in a semiarid climate. Second, they are efficient, for water can flow by gravity from the irrigation ditch through furrows that drain to the river. Third, they accommodate population growth in a society that practices equal inheritance. Measured in varas along the irrigation ditch, long lots are easily subdivided, although sisters often seem to have allowed brothers to buy them out. Looking at long lots finishes a long day two.

Figure 10.8. El Cerrito Long Lots, 1922.
Agricultural long-lot fields stretch across the village-fronting floodplain between the irrigation ditches and the Pecos. Fernando Quintana's four fragmented holdings (9.65 acres or 3.9 hectares) made him El Cerrito's ranking landowner of the 63.95 irrigated acres (25.9 hectares) shown. The long-lot pattern is redrawn from Map A 15 of a State Engineer Hydrographic Survey in 1922 and is substantially the same today.

Day Three

On day three, we put El Cerrito into its San Miguel County context. We start at El Cerrito's larger village rival, Villanueva, which is eight miles (12.9 km) away by mesa road, but only three miles (4.8 km) up the river. Years earlier El Cerrito's schoolteacher, Ray Esquibel, rode his horse up the river daily to pick up the village mail at Villanueva, a ride that required fording the Pecos half a dozen times where it flows through a canyon. Besides a post office, Villanueva has three small grocery stores (one burned to the ground about 1989), a grade school (which is now closed; all Pecos Valley children take buses to a regional school complex in El Pueblo), and the Roman Catholic parish church. In the early 1980s we would visit with the priest, but by the end of the 1980s the Archdiocese of Santa Fe was so shorthanded that a deacon now officiates in the parish, which includes the six chapels or *visitas* of El Cerrito, Sena, Gonzales Ranch, Leyba, Palma, and Aurora (Fig. 10.9). If we are fortunate, we can visit Fortunato and Frances Gallegos who live in one of northern New Mexico's few remaining courtyard-centered homes.

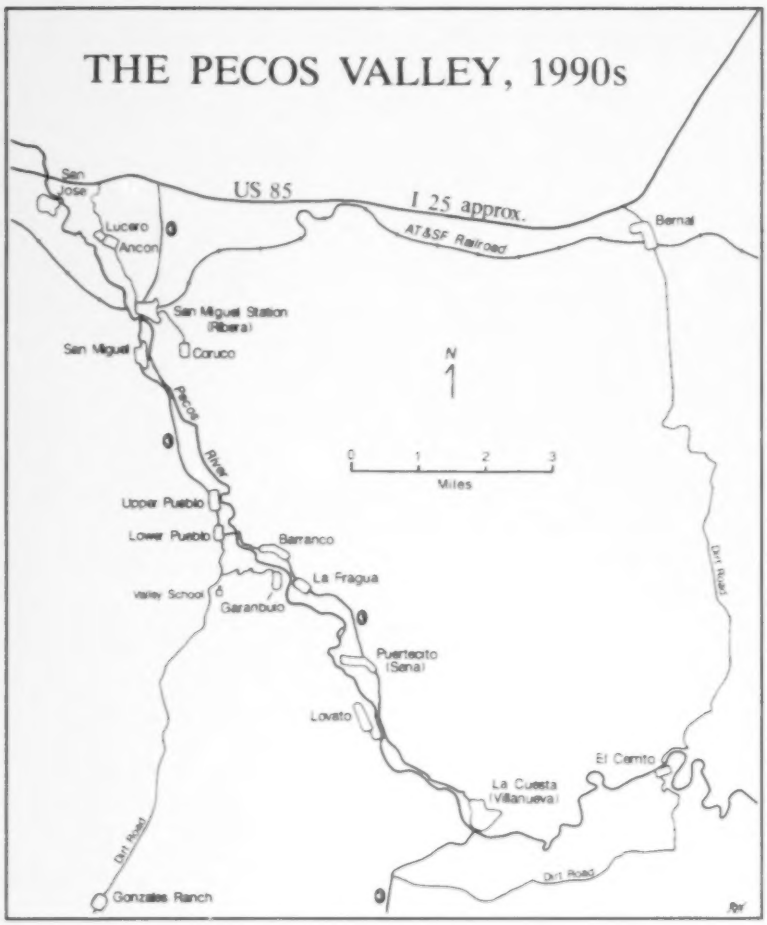

Figure 10.9. The Pecos Valley, 1990s.
El Cerrito and its village neighbors are shown in the upper Pecos Valley. Present community names are given in parentheses. Not shown are Aurora, Leyba, and Palma.

Some ten miles (16 km) up the Pecos Valley is San Miguel, once an important community. Like El Cerrito and other villages along the Pecos, San Miguel began as a fortified rectangular *plaza*, a configuration very much preserved in nearby San Jose. In the early 1800s San Miguel supplanted the Pecos Pueblo as the eastern gateway to the Spanish-Pueblo world. Wagons headed for Santa Fe on the Santa Fe Trail forded the Pecos here and pulled up on the west side to trade and camp for the night. In 1850, San Miguel was made the county seat, a function it lost to Las Vegas in 1864. Its large white Catholic church, which is often open to visitors, is still staffed with a priest, and, as evidence of its former importance, an adobe warehouse called an *almacén*, which can be recognized by its small barred windows placed high on the walls, is located north of the *vado* or ford on the Pecos. The death blow for San Miguel came when the Santa Fe Railroad built a new depot community at nearby Ribera in 1879.

As we drive to Las Vegas some 25 miles (c. 40 km) north northeast of El Cerrito, I point out that the Santa Fe Railroad had much to do with making it New Mexico's second largest Hispano community (behind Santa Fe) in 1900. Settlers founded "Old Town" Las Vegas in 1835 on the west side of the Gallinas River. The corners of its plaza point somewhat in the cardinal compass directions, and a church faced the plaza on its west side, but in the 1870s the church was moved to a larger site a block farther west. Santa Fe traders pulled their wagons into this plaza after 1835, and in 1846 General Stephen W. Kearny stood on a north-side, flat-roofed, one-story building and announced the American political takeover. After 1867 Charles Ilfeld ran his New Mexico mercantile empire from a building (which still bears his name) on the plaza's north side. In 1879 Anglos founded a new depot-centered community on open land a mile (c. 1.6 km) east of the Gallinas River. East Las Vegas by 1900 was a major wool entrepôt. Both East and West Las Vegas declined after the Santa Fe Railroad built a new mainline into New Mexico at Clovis in 1908. The two communities finally merged in the 1960s, and today half of San Miguel County's 25,000 people, 75 percent of whom are Hispano, live here. Las Vegas has the county's only two high schools that today are fully integrated.

Day Four

On day four we put El Cerrito into its still larger state context. Our first stop is the Pecos Pueblo. This once-sizable outpost on the eastern edge of the Pueblo realm is located precisely where three major physiographic provinces come together: the Rocky Mountains and its southernmost range, the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, on the north; the Basin and Range, which begins at Glorieta Mesa, on the south; and the Great Plains on the east. At this point the large Pecos Indian village guarded the entrance to Glorieta Pass that leads west to Santa Fe between the Sangre de Cristo Mountains and Glorieta Mesa. Here Pueblos and nomadic peoples exchanged corn and *piñon* for flint and buffalo robes. By 1837, the Pecos, who had dwindled to several dozen, abandoned their village and joined fellow Towa-speaking people at the Jemez Indian village. Not until 1967 was it discovered that the ruins of the second east-facing church built under the direction of Spaniards after the Pueblo Revolt in 1705 lay *within* the ruins of the huge first west-facing church built in the 1620s.

From the Pecos Pueblo we drive west through Glorieta Pass to Santa Fe, New Mexico's historic capital. Standing in the plaza, whose corners aim weakly in the cardinal compass directions, I point out the Palace of the Governors that may date from 1610. This one-story adobe structure is apparently all that remains of a large rectangular *presidio* that stretched to the north. Under its covered walkway or *portal* at the west end once was an open market where local Spanish people and Pueblo Indians sold fruit and vegetables from walkway mats, and sold mutton, venison, and bear that hung from the *portal*. A block east of the plaza is Saint Francis Cathedral built in Romanesque style of gold-colored sandstone chosen by French-born Bishop and Archbishop Jean Baptiste Lamy. The chapel that displays La Conquistadora, the much-venerated statue taken to New Mexico in 1625, is part of an earlier church, La Parroquia. That church or perhaps its predecessors once faced an open plaza: half of the original plaza was encroached upon long ago. The elegant La Fonda Hotel is located on the site of the Exchange Hotel, which Santa Fe traders used as their headquarters. These several landmarks were known to some of the El Cerrito villagers for whom the 60-mile trip to Santa Fe would have been a rare and major event.

Day Five

As we head home on day five, we take the opportunity to talk about why Hispanos in Greater New Mexico are distinctive. I reiterate that the umbrella concept that binds Hispano society is its Spanish identity. I also note that this identity is less strong today than it was earlier in the century, yet even today, when asked who they are, older people in El Cerrito answer "Spanish." They

strongly resent being thought of or referred to as Mexican. Younger villagers, however, might well respond that they are "Chicano," a contraction of *mexicano* that has more to do with being Mexican than being Spanish. In the twentieth-century American mass media and mobility have widened the Hispanos' perspective and the intense identity with Spanish that existed before World War II has eroded.

Beyond the matter of ethnic identity, I point out that El Cerrito is full of examples of the Hispano subculture. The list is long on those items that characterize Hispanos and indeed all Hispanic people in the Borderlands: a village with its distinctively oriented plaza, a church, adobe houses, corrals, *jacal* fences, a dam, an irrigation ditch. The list is also respectably long on those items that are peculiar to Hispanos and differentiate them from Mexican Americans: clear evidence of an original fortified plaza; long-lot agricultural plots that may well be an independent Hispano invention; *santos* fabricated as part of a folk art that in the Borderlands flourished only in New Mexico; livestock shelters needed for animals in a highland environment; and dome-shaped hornos associated with wheat culture. The fact is that tiny, well-preserved El Cerrito is both a microcosm of the Hispano subculture and a window on that subculture's past.

At some point on the way home, I break the bad news: term papers on El Cerrito must address a theme that is geographical. Then I give students some good news: a handout that suggests ten geographical themes.

1. cultural landscapes or village morphology: village (*plaza, solares*, corrals), fields (long lots), irrigation ditch
2. village land use: village, floodplain (irrigated crops, orchards, gardens), mesa (homesteads, state land, federal land)
3. village land tenure: own vs. lease, common vs. private
4. village social organization: church, ditch, well, school (English), families, intermarriage, feuds
5. village economic viability: peaches/piñon, greenhouses, handicraft, hydroponic farming, high tech, moonshine, firewood
6. outside village network: parish seat, post office, shopping, courthouse, schools
7. cultural ecology or environmental adjustment: irrigate, adobe, pitched roofs, hardy crops, transhumance
8. cultural diffusion or contrasting values: agrarian vs. industrial, traditional vs. nontraditional, present vs. future, quality vs. quantity, folk vs. popular culture
9. cultural region/historical: depopulation, changing trade linkages (salt, buffalo hides, wool), modes of transportation
10. environmental perceptions: exploit vs. live in harmony, shade trees and ornamental lawns vs. open unimproved space

Handing out a list of ten geographical themes represents a critical final step. I want my field trippers—in all, 76 students and 37 guests during the 1980s—to learn something of the Hispano subculture and ethnicity I so appreciate. I also want my students to see what a geographer looks at in the field and how he or she goes about it. I am eager to have each new class of graduate students develop a sense of camaraderie that happens so naturally on a field trip. My highest goal, however, is to force students to think geographically, at least when writing term papers. I was gratified when one of my students said in a panel discussion at OU some years after she had taken the El Cerrito trip that the trip was her most valuable single experience at OU. Building a field trip experience into the early phase of a graduate student's curriculum has considerable merit.

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CHAPTER 11

The Hispanic Borderlands: Blending Electronic Data and Field Experience into Five Elements from La Frontera

Brady Foust and Howard Botts

Many of us became geographers because we wanted to travel and see new places. Most individuals can remember family trips they took when they were quite young, yet recall almost nothing else from the same year. Geography is first a field-based discipline, and there is no substitute for field work in the undergraduate curriculum. Long after students have forgotten individual lectures, they vividly recall field experiences. We have made a one-week field trip an integral part of the undergraduate experience for our best students for a number of years.

The statistical manipulating of data and mapping can provide the broad overview that is also necessary to understanding a particular place and time. This discussion outlines the blending of inexpensive electronic data sources to support, supplement, and complement student field experiences in the Hispanic Borderlands of the Southwestern United States and Northern Mexico. Students use the data sources to explore trends, extract descriptive statistics, and construct a variety of maps before field work begins.

We generally divide students into teams, each focused on a particular research topic. Students review the literature, design the research strategy, collect data, and make a number of preliminary maps and charts. Field work provides new insights, *ground truth* information, supplemental photographs, and other documents that become part of the final research project. We then require students to produce a final research poster and formal paper as part of the course requirements.

We have focused our Borderlands field course on five specific elements, each of which can branch out into a number of sub-elements, depending on student interests, data availability, and the specific route taken on the field trip. We chose the five elements because they represent: (1) cultural traits that can be used to distinguish the Borderlands from Anglo culture to the north; and (2) data that can be quantified and are available in inexpensive electronic forms that students can easily manipulate and map.

The five elements we use in our Borderlands field course are: (1) reported ethnicity and language, (2) economic conditions, (3) religion, (4) toponyms or place names, and (5) surnames. These elements can certainly overlap. For example, toponyms and surnames are intertwined with language, and religion is connected to ethnicity. We made these divisions based on the electronic data used to study each element and the approaches that the available data tend to support.

Reported Ethnicity and Language

The decennial U. S. census is the primary source for reported ethnicity. The census provides a basis for making a preliminary definition of the Borderlands. The boundary can be drawn at the county, ZIP code, census tract, or census block group level. The Bureau of the Census Summary Tape Files (STF) on CD-ROM for 1990 are generally available free in university libraries that are Federal Data Depositories. Data files can be manipulated in dBase, Lotus, and other database management systems or spreadsheets and easily integrated into desktop mapping programs. *Maptitude*, an inexpensive desktop Geographic Information System (GIS) package, provides all the ethnic, language, and economic data from the Census STF files at the county, ZIP code, and census tract levels.

The data files generally require that students make additional data manipulations to derive meaningful measures of specific variables. For example, it may be necessary for students to use database commands to convert the raw number of Hispanics to percent Hispanic by dividing the Hispanic population of counties by total population. Such manipulations provide some elemen-

tary lessons in database operations, simple descriptive statistics, and mapping operations. Figure 11.1 shows Hispanics as a percent of total population, and Figure 11.2 shows the Spanish speakers as a percent of total population in the Borderlands. Both maps use the census data contained in *Maptitude*, and each displays the data at the county level.

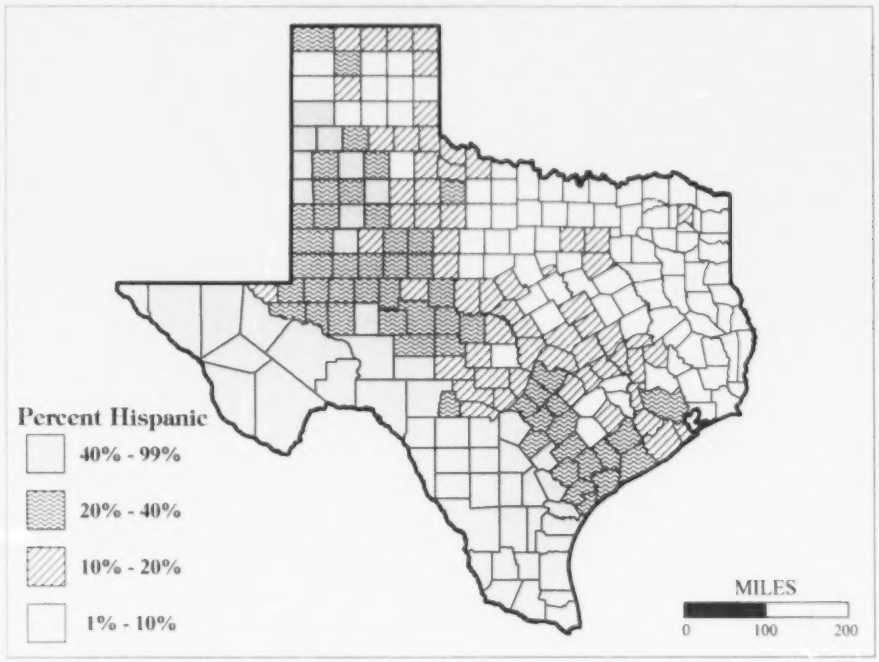

Figure 11.1. Percent Hispanic.

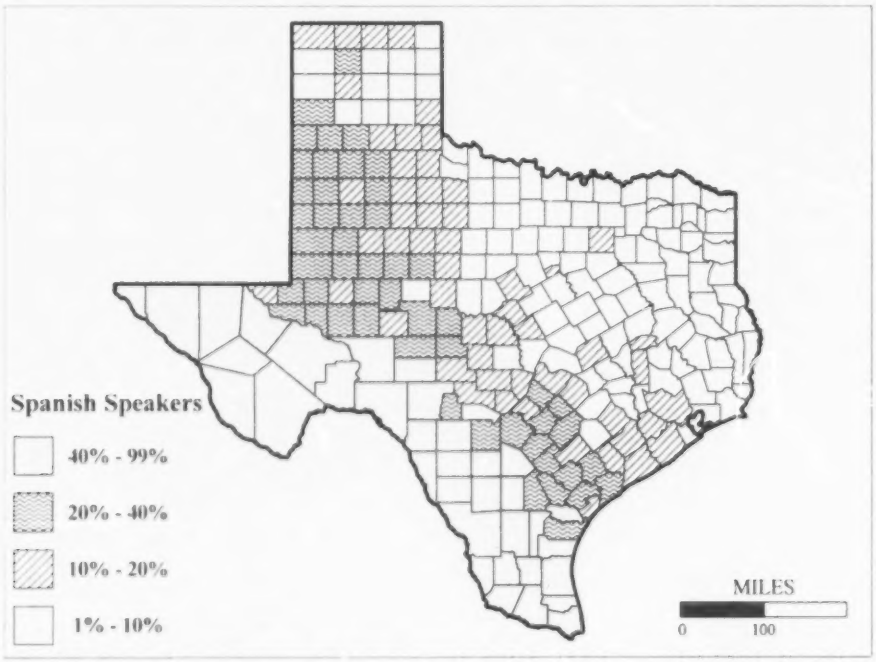

Figure 11.2. Percent Spanish Speakers.

Students should map the data at a finer level (ZIP code or census tract) because it reveals nuances not evident at the county level. Next, students should decide on the general northern boundary of the Borderlands and be prepared to defend their methodology. Students can define the boundary by analyzing the data to establish some significant break in the data or by establishing a statistical cut-off point such as one standard deviation below the mean Hispanic population percentage. Students can then aggregate all unit areas that meet this standard to form the generalized boundary. Figure 11.3 shows the result of such a boundary in Texas. On the Borderlands field trip, students should be prepared to observe the cultural landscape carefully when approaching the border they have drawn to see if field observations support their boundary choice.

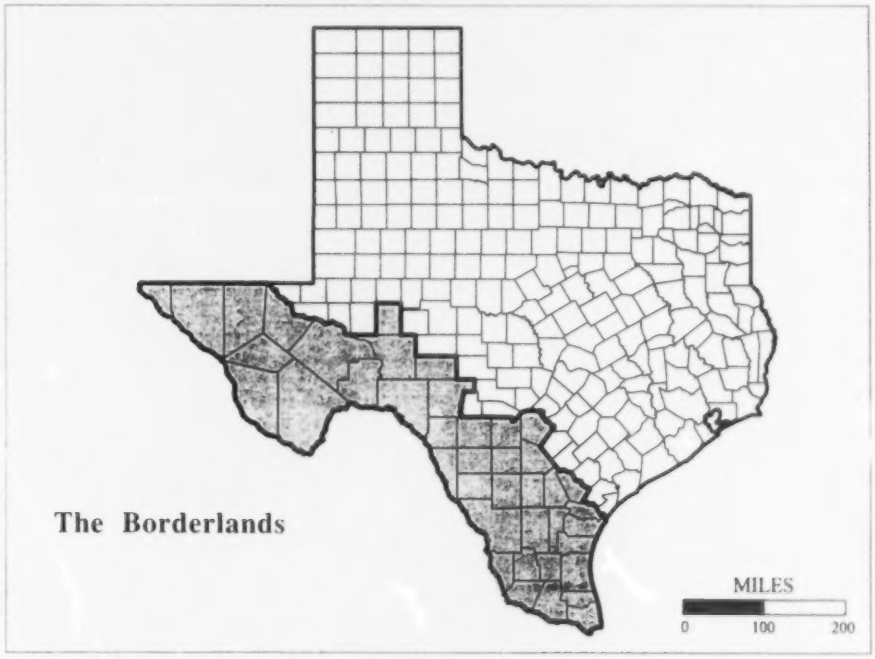

Figure 11.3. The Borderlands.

Economic Conditions

Census data down to the block group level are contained in *Maptitude*. We require students to map a variety of socioeconomic and demographic data at the county level to set the general boundary of the Borderlands. They map similar data at the tract level to gain some understanding of spatial patterns within major cities in the region. Figure 11.4 shows per capita income at the county level in Texas for Hispanics. This map can be compared with Figure 11.5 that shows income data for Anglos.

Religion

One of the elements consistently cited by Borderlands scholars is religion (Nostrand 1970). The folk Catholicism of Mexico permeates the Borderlands region. Researchers can approach religious concentrations in the region from several sources, but the two most meaningful include the 1990 *Churches and Church Membership* survey conducted by the Roper Center for Public Opinion

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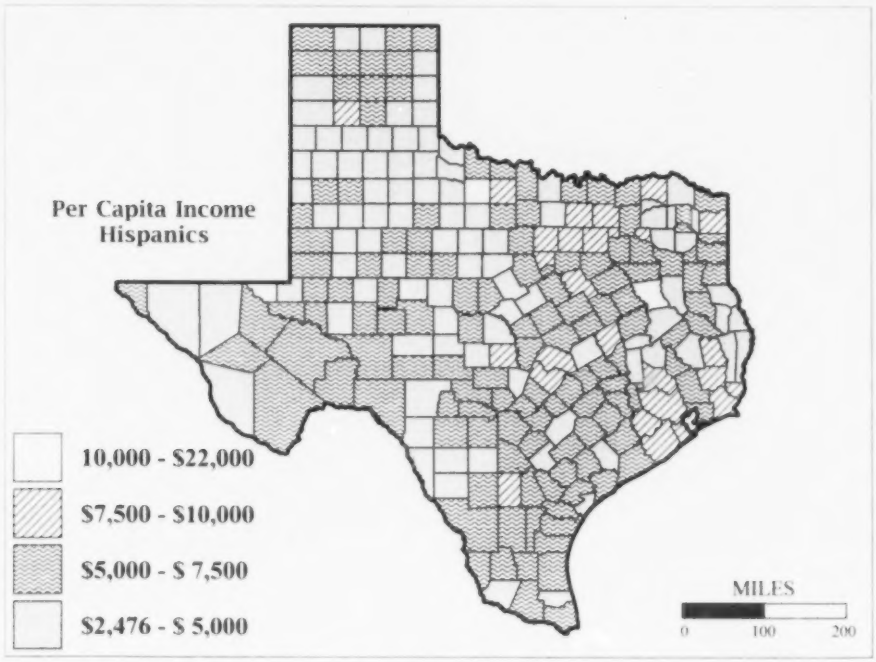


Figure 11.4. Per capita income patterns for Hispanics.

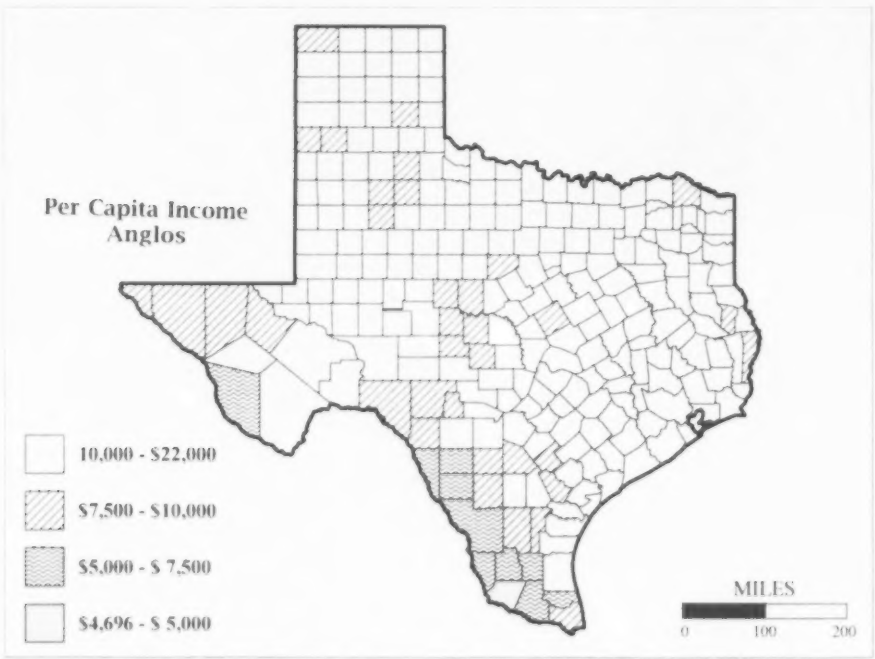
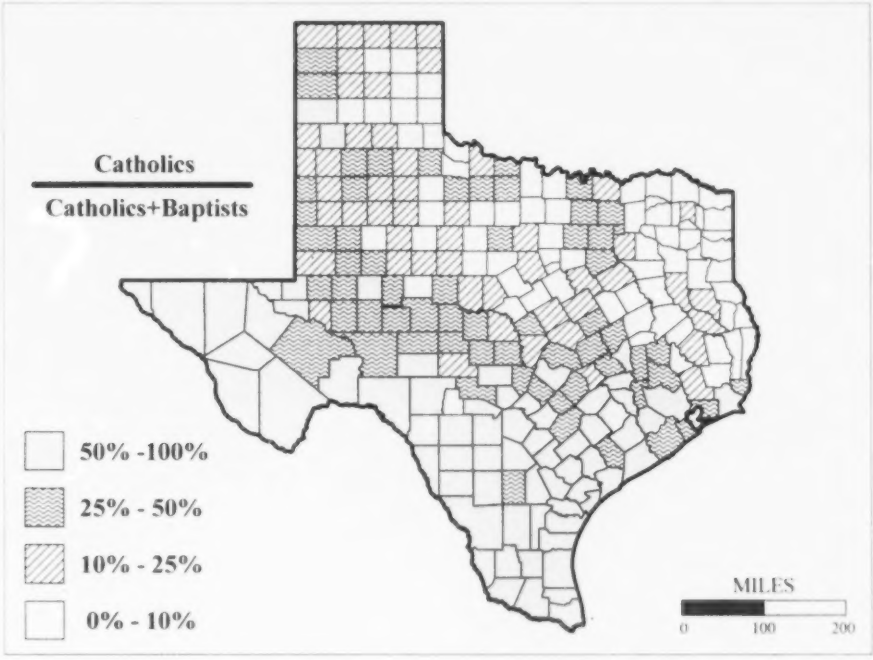


Figure 11.5. Per capita income patterns for Anglos.

Research and the 1996 *Select Phone CD-ROM* of telephone numbers for the entire United States.

The Roper survey contains county-level data for several hundred religious denominations. The data include: (1) number of churches, (2) number of members, (3) number of adherents, (4) members as a percent of total population, and (5) adherents as a percent of total adherents. These data make it quite easy to calculate the number of Catholic churches as a percent of total churches or to map Catholics as a percent of total church members or total adherents. Such mapping generally reveals the Borderlands and the transition line between Protestant Anglo-America and Catholic Hispanic-America. The telephone CD allows students to map Catholic churches at the ZIP-code level. Our students have also examined the location of Catholic churches named for the Virgin of Guadeloupe (patron saint of Mexico) in the Borderlands. Figure 11.6 shows Catholic churches as a percent of total Catholic plus Baptist churches in Texas as derived from the Roper Center database.



Toponyms

The *Geographic Names Information System* (GNIS) provides another rich source of Borderlands data. GNIS contains all toponyms (place names) listed on USGS 1:24000 topographic sheets. The database can be searched in a variety of ways and provides the latitude and longitude of each topographic sheet feature. The data make it easy for students to map a wide variety of Spanish toponyms. Our students had to derive a set of Hispanic toponyms for the five Southwestern states comprising the Borderlands. To accomplish this task, they first had to research Hispanic place names in the Southwest. They then created a separate dBase file for each *toponym* (place name) using the GNIS CD-ROM. The coordinate information contained in the GNIS database must be converted to decimal degrees for mapping in a desktop GIS. Figure 11.7 shows the distribution of the *arroyo* toponym in Texas. Similar mappings can provide another way of calculating the boundary of the Borderlands.

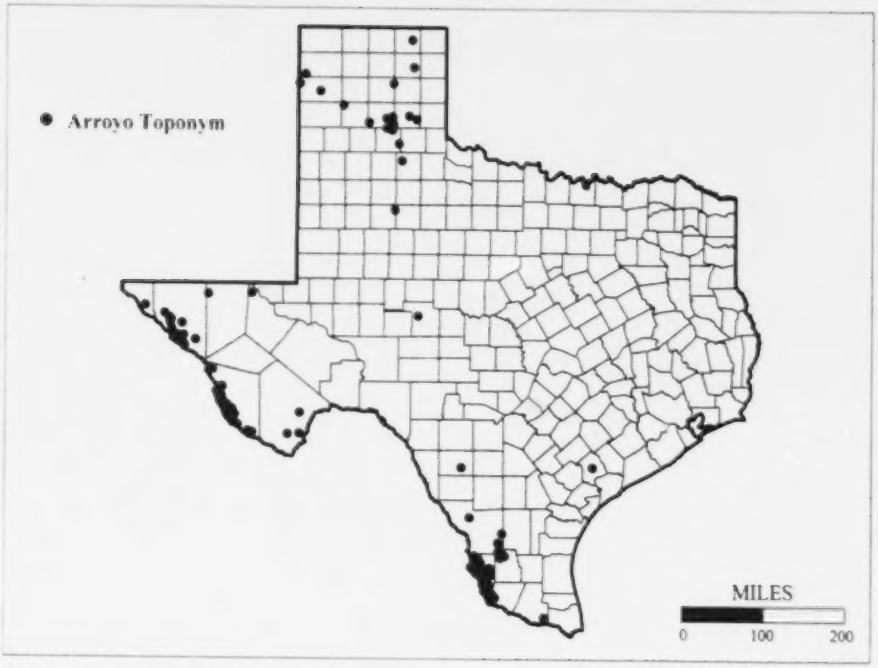


Figure 11.7. *Arroyo* toponyms.

Surnames

Hispanic surnames are an important and visible element in the Borderlands. Political posters, names on commercial establishments and rural mailboxes, and telephone directories all give evidence of regional differences when considering surnames. One of our student teams considered this element of the Borderlands by comparing the ratio between the top ten Hispanic and Anglo surnames. The table below lists those names as provided by the Bureau of the Census World Wide Web site (Table 11.1).

The students next extracted all listings from both sets of names in the Borderland states. These listings were aggregated by ZIP code, and the ZIP code centroids assigned to counties using a simple GIS point-in-polygon technique. Figure 11.8 shows the ratio between Hispanic and Anglo names using this technique for Texas. Notice that the Borderlands boundary is quite distinct. Students can use the same technique to compare various parts of major Borderlands cities such as San Antonio, El Paso, and San Diego.

Rank	Hispanic	Anglo
1	Garcia	Smith
2	Martinez	Johnson
3	Rodriguez	Williams
4	Lopez	Brown
5	Hernandez	Jones
6	Gonzalez	Davis
7	Perez	Miller
8	Sanchez	Wilson
9	Rivera	Anderson
10	Ramirez	Moore

Table 11.1. Ten most common surnames.

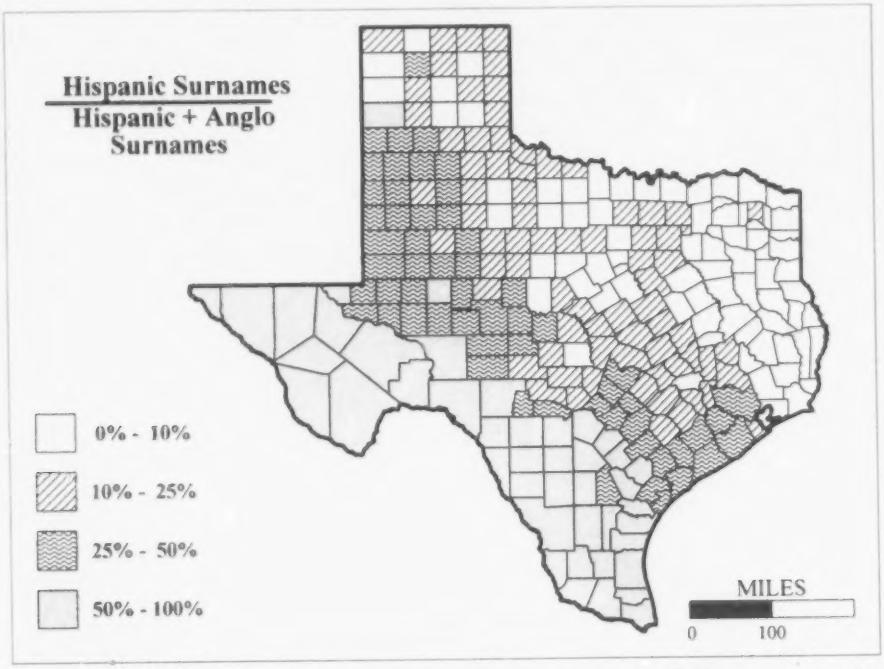


Figure 11.8. Top 10 Hispanic surnames as a percent of Hispanic+Anglo surnames.

A Note on Planning Field Excursions

We have planned and conducted a number of student field trips. A pilot trip of the route makes the absolutely necessary accommodations, contacts, details, and other relevant aspects of the course. On the other hand, this dry run can never anticipate the adjustments that we must make when we take students into the field. The field excursion itself will always take longer than the dry run.

Establishing contact with guides and local experts is important. City and regional planners can give insight into local economic and social conditions. Geography graduate students are often willing to share their field experience for a nominal sum. Managers of *maquiladoras* are generally willing to provide tours and insights into living and working conditions in the frontier zone.

We have found, however, that impromptu contacts often yield the most serendipitous results. Members of the Border Patrol seem eager to talk about the problems of *La Frontera*. One of the best discussions of economic conditions on both sides of the border came from an illegal alien who had crossed the border on foot and was looking for a ride. In exchange for transportation, he gave an excellent two-hour talk about life as a migrant worker. Taxicab drivers (if they speak English) can be excellent guides on the Mexican side of the border.

Conclusions

The melding of data collection, analysis, and mapping in the classroom with field work accomplishes a number of goals. Students never again look at raw data in the same way once they connect it with real places and real people. It is one thing for most middle-class, white students to map low-income levels in the Borderland cities and quite another to see for themselves. Secondly, we must always remember that our job is to educate good geographers, and good geography includes field work. Finally, we feel that the most important aspect of field work is what may be

termed life-long skills. Most students, once given a taste of the geographer's view of the world during a well-planned, carefully conducted field experience, become field geographers for life even if they go on to work in other careers. When students visit us years after graduation, they always talk about the field trips we took together and rarely mention what happened in the classroom. The wonderful reward for the instructor is getting to see a place you know through the fresh eyes of your students.

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CHAPTER 12

Ethnicity: Lessons from the Field

J. Douglas Heffington

The arrival in 1994 of *Geography for Life: National Geography Standards* eased the integration of geography's essential elements into classes and field-oriented activities. This document provides teachers and students with clear-cut objectives and goals. For example, my teaching responsibilities involve courses in cultural and historical geography, and essential elements such as "Human Systems" have provided the vehicle to incorporate into class two fundamental themes of geography—field work and landscape interpretation, specifically cultural landscapes. Using "Human Systems" and Standard 10, which deals with the characteristics, distribution, and complexity of the earth's cultural mosaics, teachers and students have opportunities to leave the confinement of the classroom and *do* and *see* geography. As early as 1941, Carl Sauer's treatise, "Foreword to Historical Geography," questioned if geographers should simply be satisfied to "prepare lectures on what others investigate?" (1941, 1-24). Although the standards guide us, the element needed is the commitment of educators to venture into the field with their students, even if they define field as their own campuses.

This paper presents my approach to incorporation of field trips, class assignments, and landscape observations into the exploration of ethnicity. A landscape tells a story, and one page, or one chapter, may be the story of its settlers, immigrants, and their built landscapes.

As an admirer of Carl Sauer and J. B. Jackson, I often turn to their writings to direct and supplement my love of landscape studies, particularly cultural landscapes (Jackson 1984; Leighly 1963). I believe we can introduce students to landscape observation at any age, especially through enhancing courses in social studies and earth sciences at the K-12 levels.

In the later years of his career, Sauer wrote "The Education of a Geographer," in which he discussed his belief that the knowledge of geography is gained by observation, and that field work is by far the most adequate way to glean this information (1956: 287-299). This art of observation, although simple in theory, is an acquired skill and can be honed every time students examine the world around them.

Field work, coupled with landscape observation and interpretation, lies at the very heart of geography. I am comfortable with Jackson's (1984: 5) concept of landscape, and my students can readily grasp it:

> Landscape is a space on the surface of the earth: intuitively it is a space with a degree of permanence, with its own distinct character, either topographical or cultural, and above all a space shared by a group of people.

Cultural Geography

Cultural Geography is an upper-division and graduate-level course at my university in which I deal most with ethnicity and its geography. Teachers can adapt this according to class need, level, and expectations. Our venture into field work and landscape analyses starts with the ordinary or commonplace. Peirce Lewis's "Axioms for Reading the Cultural Landscape" (1979: 19) has proven to be a good starting point, especially his third axiom that addresses interpretation of "common things." As a child reared in a small Upland South town, life seemed so bland, so ordinary. Yet, after reading geographer H. L. Minton's (1937) dissertation on my hometown, in which he declares Conway, Arkansas to be a "representative community," I began to realize that for the geographer, the ordinary holds a certain fascination. Although one can long for the distinction of the Hispano homeland, the Cajun cultural region, or the Amish in southeastern Pennsylvania, I have come to value the ordinary and now believe that, if one can read the familiar and make sense out of same-

ness, then one is well on the way to becoming a geographer and a student of landscape appreciation.

When analyzing the South, people often fail to see the literal and figurative complexity of its ethnicity. Frequently in cultural geography classes, students first encounter the South during discussions on vernacular culture regions. One can view the South as such a region, and J. S. Reed's (1976), "The Heart of Dixie: An Essay in Folk Geography," lends credence to my belief. First I ask my students to draw the South on an outline state map of the United States, then develop a list of cultural traits, or criteria, that reflect the area's homogeneity. Not surprisingly, the area they define as the South is the southeastern quarter of the U. S., including a small portion of eastern Oklahoma and Texas. Almost all students include the entire state of Florida. These initial explorations help students narrow the culture traits of the region, even as they acknowledge that geographic limits do not necessarily conform to geopolitical borders. The next step is a class discussion of the cultural traits that lead them to their definition of the South's geographic limits, such as: (1) distinctive foods (pork brains and gravy readily bought in cans at local supermarkets, chitlins advertised in the grocer's sale section of the local newspapers, and grits, a fundamental part of many of the students' breakfasts); (2) love of automobile racing (a license plate with the number three on it—nothing else, just the number means something to many of us Southerners because it is the number of Dale Ernhardt, a car racing deity in the South; (3) deep religious beliefs and background as reflected in the bountiful number of churches in communities large and small (the students are quick to point out we Southerners have a church on every block and they can name the community, church, and block!). The students then surmise that not all of the southeastern quadrant of the United States exhibits these general traits (for instance, south Florida), but, on the whole, they are fairly accurate as blanket statements.

When asked about the ethnic composition of our region, the response is almost immediate, "We (our area, our South) have blacks and we have whites." Simple enough, straightforward enough, and a quick look around the class, a walk on campus, or a stroll through an area mall seems to confirm this superficial assessment. The questions I fire back at the students are: "Is merely being dark or light in skin color a true reflection of ethnicity?" and "As true geography detectives, are there signs of ethnicity on the land that reflect cultural groups that today may or may not have been largely incorporated into the dominant white or African-American South?" These are examples of questions posed to the students for which they try to answer based on field observations.

Preliminary Exercises

The first task on our journey to understanding ethnicity and our region's ethnic heritage is to define the term ethnicity so each student has a level playing field. For my class in Cultural Geography, ethnicity, or ethnic group, is broadly defined as a group of people that are distinguished from the majority, or dominant society, by their cultural and possibly their biological characteristics. I provide examples to illustrate portions of the South's ethnic geography and the resultant landscape. Students need to understand that the landscape is not so cut and dried, simple and bland, but is as rich in diversity as New York City or California's Bay area. Our regional ethnicity is often subtle, and it takes a keen eye and a geographer's coaxing to read and understand it. For instance, discussions before field trips note that a little more than 40 percent of the residents in Houston County, Tennessee (about 50 miles or 80 kilometers northeast of Nashville) declared Irish ancestry in the 1990 census, making it one of the most Irish counties in the United States. Their ancestors laid much of the track during western Tennessee's early railroad years. The county seat is Erin (perhaps the only one in the United States) and it has a yearly festival to celebrate Irish ethnicity. Although they appear Southern, and they are Southern, their ethnic background has left clues to their Irish ancestry and is reflected, if nowhere else, in the listing of surnames in the area phone book. Erin's Annual Irish Celebration in March focuses on the contribution of the Irish to the area, such as laying the rails in the 1880s. During the week of celebration

the town elects a Lord High Mayor and the festivities culminate with that old Irish tradition of a catfish fry! Ethnically Irish, but Southern to the bone. Erin go bragh ya'll!

The town of Gruetli in Grundy County, Tennessee (about 50 miles or 80 kilometers) northwest of Chattanooga still reflects its Swiss heritage. The town, named after a valley in Switzerland, maintains a Swiss Historical Society to perpetuate the Swiss culture, but for our class it is important that we can read this ethnicity on the land. Greeters Falls, Greeters Road, Greeters Lumber Company all reflect the Greeters, a prominent Swiss family dating back to the 1800s when the Swiss arrived in the area. The small vineyards adjacent to local resident's homes indicate the love of homemade wines, and the ability to purchase *springerles*, anise-flavored cookies, a Swiss taste, not one of the Cumberland Plateau.

These examples, though somewhat oversimplified, introduce students to the rich heritage Southerners hold beyond the traditional Celtic and African. Something few students have considered, even at the college level, is that ethnicity is geographic and often leaves a land signature.

To strengthen this point, I divide my students into seven groups, and each group examines a decade of census data for Polk County, Tennessee, specifically for the Ducktown community. Ducktown is located in the Copper Basin of extreme southeast Tennessee and was the hub of copper production for the South for decades beginning in the mid-1800s (Fig. 12.1).

Figure 12.1. Location map of study communities and the Mississippi Delta.

Each of the seven groups has a decade of census material to examine (1850-1920, except for the fire-damaged 1890 census) in order to ascertain over time the numbers of foreign-born in our state. More importantly for their landscape observation skills, I will later show the students the reality of these immigrants on the cultural landscape. The student groups are to determine push-pull factors that may have brought these peoples to the area and to speculate if evidence exists of

the people today besides simply looking at surnames in the telephone book. The students are amazed when confronted with the diversity of immigrants to the area, many directly associated with the copper industry and others in secondary and service roles. For example, the 1870 census data reveal people came to the Copper Basin from Austria, Baden, Bavaria, Belgium, France, Ireland, Mexico, Prussia, Scotland, Spain, and, of course, England. Later years brought Russians, Italians, Greeks, Syrians, and Hungarians. These data represent a fairly diverse group of folks for a sparsely populated county then and now (Polk County today has about 14,000 people, and Ducktown has a little more than 400 residents). The students do well with political turmoil and war as push factors and economic advancements and inexpensive land as pull factors, but the visible imprint of these peoples proves more challenging (and enjoyable).

After a lecture series and discussion about Peirce Lewis's "Axioms for Reading the Cultural Landscape" (1979: 11-32) plus Michael Conzen's "Ethnicity on the Land" (1990: 221-248), we plan a weekend field trip to the Copper Basin. Both of these articles are essential reading for those students interested in ethnic landscape studies. Conzen's article examines, for instance, signatures of ethnic landscapes that include place names, land divisions, building traditions, farm layouts, village patterns, religious evidence on the land, and special-purpose structures. Armed with census data and the Lewis and Conzen guides, the students walk the streets of Ducktown and nearby Copperhill where they can practice and hone their observation skills. With some guidance they realize that signage reinforces that the Syrians have remained merchants, the Greeks are still restaurateurs, and Catholic shrines adorn the yards of the Germans. This field activity gets the students thinking geographically (why and how people are fluid temporally and spatially) and reading landscape clues. Ethnic names on business signs and the use of yard space differently from the dominant culture can and, in this case, do, denote ethnicity—people that have, if even in a small way, held on to some Old World belief, custom, or material culture. I want my students to realize the world is not so simple that an ethnic landscape will jump out at them. A solid geographical background and a keen eye for observation will help them determine subtle differences in the landscape from the regional norm. This Ducktown excursion allows them time to ponder and see possibilities, no matter how small or insignificant they may seem initially.

To carry the subject of ethnicity and its geographic implications one step further, I ask the class what they think is an ethnically bland region of the South. Bland is defined as typifying the class's assertion that the South's ethnicity is simply African American, white, or a mixture. They have now seen indications of ethnicity on the Ducktown cultural landscape and are beginning to realize that ethnicity is simply not racial but can have a lasting influence on material culture. The students are allowed the remainder of the class to talk among themselves to determine if any section of the South is lacking in visual culture and ethnic diversity. Although many of these students are not well traveled in the United States, they are in their region—from Mardi Gras in New Orleans, to spring break in Florida, to camping in Appalachia. In the next class they share their thoughts, and they must come to a consensus on a portion of our region that least reflects ethnicity on the land. Invariably the area of the South agreed upon is the Mississippi River Delta country of western Mississippi and eastern Arkansas. To them, it is relatively homogenous culturally because it is dominated by African Americans and relatively uniform topographically (Fig. 12.2).

The challenge is that if they can read a landscape intelligently in an area that appears to have little or no cultural or physical diversity, then they can interpret landscapes anywhere, and they can improve their appreciation of the ethnicity of home (central Tennessee). Once again, they must remember that landscapes often reflect ethnicity. The next phase of examination of ethnic landscapes is to venture again into the field for an extended field trip to the Delta of Mississippi and Arkansas.

Figure 12.2 Scenes such as this, featuring the *Delta's* flat topography, can often reinforce the image of "landscape blandness." Our field trip reexamines this perception and imparts one of physical and cultural diversity.

The *Delta*

The Delta of Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana is not the true delta of the Mississippi River that extends southeasterward from southeastern Louisiana into the Gulf of Mexico. Rather it is the low-lying floodplain of the confluence of the Mississippi, the Arkansas, and the Yazoo rivers.[2] For our project the area from Memphis to Vicksburg [roughly 80 miles (129 km) wide and nearly 200 miles (322 km) long] is the focus, along with portions of east Arkansas's Delta region (Fig. 12.1). This area is flat and relatively featureless, and to students holds little promise of reflecting an ethnic landscape. Before our field trips begin, several classes are spent discussing the physical and cultural geography of the region. In addition, I assign the students readings on the area including works from both academic and popular presses (Baskett 1990; Hall and Wood 1993; Hubbell and Lunon 1990; Kelley 1978; Scheid 1992; and Shahin 1992). With this preparation, I encourage my students to discuss what they expect to see and how it reflects ethnicity. Toward the end of our pre-trip discussions, I explain my responsibilities. I am a facilitator and guide who encourages and elaborates on items that reflect ethnicity. My job is to ask who, what, when, where, and how, and to fill in voids or gaps in observations. To document the process, the students keep a field journal for our three-day Delta excursion with notations on their observations, sketch maps, and drawings. These journals help students assess their progress in the field and provide documentation for discussion once back on campus. Our field trip begins early Friday and ends late Sunday.

[2] The Mississippi Delta region is, in effect, the extensive floodplain that borders the river, especially along the Yazoo River Basin in Mississippi and the Tensas River basin in Louisiana.

Delta Ethnic Landscapes: An Overview

Our journey begins south of Memphis, Tennessee on State Highway 61 or the Blues Highway, where many early Delta blues artists plied their skills at juke joints on their way to the bright lights of Memphis or Chicago. For students traveling to the Delta of Mississippi, it seems physically and culturally monotonous, and first-time visitors misperceive what seems like cultural homogeneity. Three very brief examples of Delta ethnic landscapes change students' minds.

South from Memphis are relics of plantation agriculture including large antebellum homes. On the landscape are the effects of sharecropping, an institution that gripped the South until recently with reliance on the one-crop economy of cotton. Residuals of both of these institutions have left a large African-American population deeply associated with the landscape during the past two hundred years. Bits of Africa can still be seen in the cultural landscape. One of the most vivid reflections of Africa and its culture is in house types, specifically the shotgun house, a one-story structure, one room wide and several rooms deep. Through relocation diffusion caused by the slave trade, Africans brought the house type from West Africa to the French-controlled island of Haiti and then to New Orleans (Vlach 1976) (Fig. 12.3). Then through expansion diffusion, this shotgun house style spread into the Mississippi River Valley and beyond. Today, the structure is a reminder of an African house type transplanted to the South.

Figure 12.3. Shotgun houses just north of Tunica, Mississippi.

Asians also came to the Delta, and today signs of this ethnic group are just as evident as those from Africa. The Chinese came into the region during the late 1800s as plantation laborers and sharecroppers, but soon many owned small stores and other businesses (Loewen 1988). One can also find evidence of Chinese ethnicity in cemeteries, and relics of their mercantile heyday is obvious in the economic landscape (Figs. 12.4 and 12.5).

Figure 12.4. Store fronts are evidence of the Chinese presence in the *Delta*. Note the touch of Southern acculturation with the advertisement of Bar-B-Q chicken on this Marianna, Arkansas market.

Figure 12.5. Chinese tombstones inscriptions in a local Tunica, Mississippi cemetery.

Europe is obviously well represented in the Delta, but not simply the influence of the British Isles. In the late 1800s, Germans came to the area, especially to eastern Arkansas, and today their place names serve as markers of these European immigrants and their influence on the land. Places such as Stuttgart and Ulm denote German settlements. Eastern Europeans also settled these fertile Arkansas farmlands. One example is the small community of Slovak (about 10 miles or 16 kilometers north of Stuttgart) in Prairie County, Arkansas founded in the 1890s by Slovakian immigrants. Originally settled as a block or grid community, over time it evolved into a more traditional elongated street community with farmers living in the small town and farming their fields behind or near their homes. This type of nucleated rural settlement pattern is found in several European locales, including the hearth area of these immigrants. Although this type of settlement pattern is not traditionally indicative of the South, what students find more striking is the cultural landscape of religion. A massive brick Catholic church on one end of town and its adjacent cemetery dominates the tiny community of Slovak. The church's associated religious statuary is quite impressive (Fig. 12.6), and Catholic shrines occupy prominent places in villagers' yards. These spiritual sights are rare jewels of ethnicity in a not-so-diverse Southern religious landscape.

Figure 12.6. A Catholic imprint in the town of Slovak, Arkansas. The marble statue is more than four feet high and is a likeness of St. Isidore, the patron saint of farmers and agriculture.

Final Assignment and Concluding Remarks

When we return to the classroom, I allow students time to review their notebooks and to collect their thoughts. One class is devoted to discussion of the ethnic landscapes we visited. I ask such questions as: What was the most vivid example of ethnicity you saw? and How will the Delta's ethnic landscape change temporally and spatially? These types of questions tend to bring about lively debate. The final question I ask brings the students back home: What kind of ethnic landscapes are in Murfreesboro and Rutherford County, Tennessee? At this point, I am geographically specific because we often tend to overlook our backyards when it comes to landscape studies. Because some of my students are education majors, it is necessary that they can plan field trips in their communities and campuses. Even the familiar can open the eyes of the students to landscape observation, landscape interpretation, and in our case, documentation of ethnic reflections on the land. On a school campus, teachers can ask students: Can you find homes reflecting ethnic house types? What was on this land before it became a school? Was it a farm that raised grapes for wine or orchards with fruits for European pastries? Are these fences similar to those in Europe? Such questions are almost endless. Students do not have to observe directly landscapes with obvious vestiges of the past, but their minds are incredibly powerful and imaginative instruments that can speculate, formulate, and postulate. Lessons need not be confined to classrooms. A stroll on campus, no matter how small, for students armed with a series of "what if" questions, can open a world of landscape observation possibilities. It is important to understand the concept of home, and for my class a component of that understanding is to interpret ethnicity on the land. They can be new landscapes or older ones dating back to the founding of our area. Whatever the case, the landscape, with examination and imagination, can yield clues to our ethnicity heritage.

With these thoughts in mind, I give the students their last assignment. The assignment is to determine each of their communities' predominant ethnicities, past and present, based upon field observations and landscape interpretation. Students must write a paper that includes maps of source areas, locales of observations, and a bibliography. Library or archival research is an integral part of a college-level class, but for younger age levels the exercise can be geared solely to field observation. The students must present their results, accompanied by a poster with illustrations, graphics, and photos. These can be individual or small group assignments. Either way, I have been pleased with my students' motivation, ingenuity, and results.

In the two weeks allowed for the project, the students seem to relish the responsibility of field work. They are responsible for their methodology and presentation or display. Each project produces different results, but the common thread of ethnicity on the land still shines through. The students rely heavily on Conzen's ethnic signatures, which work well as organizing tools. I have also found some degree of their mimicking landscapes we visited in the Delta and Copper Basin. For example, students are quick to point out that our community has a large African-American population and that the shotgun houses they find in our town support Africa's historical influence on our landscape.

Many students quickly note that our rock fences indicate a history of Irish-style construction (Raitz 1985: 50-62). Other examples include the Laos Sports Club, a communal facility for male youths of our recent Laotian relocation community, along with the Buddhist temple and Asian markets; and a Hispanic *tienda* supporting a growing Mexican population and workforce. Each of these elements of the cultural landscape can result in wonderful visual displays of ethnicity for the students' poster sessions. Students also carefully examine census data and area phone books to determine ethnic surnames not representative of our traditional African and Celtic background; interview grocery clerks about the expanding Hispanic clientele and food preferences as seen in the Mexican food section of area supermarkets; and ask music and video store clerks about the growing number of Spanish-language movies and recordings (why they order them, and who buys them), further indications of a growing Hispanic minority.

The purpose of these lessons from the field is for students to venture into the field, observe,

assess, and interpret their experiences, all of which produce a growing geographic maturity. During this maturation process, it seems evident from their papers, presentations, and posters, that they exhibit pride in a newly found geographic awareness. Their perception of sameness has changed, and students realize the diversity and complexity of our cultural mosaic is as important as those they read about in their texts. Teachers can use this sequence of exercises, or any of the components, at most grade levels to emphasize the importance of geography and its role in landscape studies. We all have a cultural heritage and, with a little imagination, thought, and effort, we can find enrichment in observing our past and present, and ponder our future on the land around us.

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PART IV: TEACHING ABOUT NATIVE-AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES

CHAPTER 13

The Native-American Experience: Teaching Facts Instead of Fiction

George A. Van Otten

In 1994 the *National Geography Education Standards, Geography for Life* identified 18 essential standards for effective geographic education. Standard 17, which calls for competency in using geography to interpret the past, and Standard 13, which focuses on understanding how the forces of cooperation and competition among people influence the division and control of the earth's surface, are particularly important relative to the study of the historical geography of the United States (*Geography for Life* 1994: 61-104). Unfortunately, many American educators have often failed to address adequately these standards. Instead, they have presented a mythical narrative that has glorified and ennobled the conquest of North Americans and other groups (Noriega 1992: 371-374).

The result of teaching such myths is that most Americans know little about the realities of the sequential settlement of the United States. This deficiency now confounds the best efforts of those who seek to create a more functional multicultural society. The purpose of this essay is to identify briefly the most persistent myths relative to the Native-American experience and the evolution of the landscape of the United States.

The Myth of a Pristine Pre-European Landscape

The myth of a pristine pre-European landscape is important because it suggests that prior to European settlement, North America was a sparsely settled wilderness, almost free for the taking. This point of view has long been reinforced by estimates of a pre-European, North American population of no more than one million. Recently, experts have increased this figure to approximately four million (Denevan 1992: 369).

During the sixteenth century, Old World diseases introduced by early European contacts devastated the native population of what is now New England (Denevan 1991: 369-371). The Puritans, who arrived in the seventeenth century, encountered dense forests and a relatively sparse indigenous population. These colonists could not know that some of these forests grew on land that Native-American farmers had cultivated only a century earlier. Instead of an unoccupied pristine wilderness, thirteenth-century North America was the site of advanced agricultural enterprises and numerous indigenous settlements.

The Myth of the Primitive Savage

As colonial settlements took root, Europeans found it necessary to encroach upon Indian land. When possible, they purchased land (generally for small sums) from the original occupants. If the natives refused to sell their land, the colonists often took it by force. Colonists justified this expropriation by arguing that Native Americans were too primitive to put the land to its highest and best use and, therefore, did not deserve to keep it. The new republic used similar justification in the nineteenth century for taking almost all native land for Anglo settlement (Lyons 1992: 13-42). The myth of the primitive savage was born, at least in part, out of a need by non-Indians to justify their conquest of the Indian nations.

A plethora of archaeological and historical evidence contradicts the myth of the primitive sav-

age. In the Salt River Valley of Arizona, for example, the Hohokam developed a large, complex system of irrigated agriculture. At the zenith of their civilization in the twelfth century, Hohokam agriculture supported approximately 75,000 people (Butzer 1990: 36-44). More than 600 years ago, the Hohokam constructed some of the canals now used to move water to the fields and orchards that surround the modern metropolis of Phoenix.

During the thirteenth century, along the banks of the Mississippi River in what is now the state of Illinois, indigenous people created the city of Cahokia that housed more than 30,000 people. A strong agricultural base supported this city, and it was, in almost all ways, equal to or more advanced than the urban centers of thirteenth-century Europe (Korp 1990: 27).

Educators can use many other examples to demonstrate the adaptive genius of Native Americans. These include the large fishing villages found along the Pacific Coast of the Northwest, and the ability of the pueblo people of the Southwestern high deserts to produce crops of maize and other vegetables against the seemingly impossible challenges presented by periodic drought, high evapotranspiration rates, and persistent wind.

The Myth of No Indigenous Contributions to American Society

The United States is a multicultural nation. Educators, however, continue to overlook the influences of Native Americans and other groups on the formation of American society. For example, John Adams and Benjamin Franklin, who were driving forces in the development of the nation's constitution, were as much influenced by the Iroquois political system as by the ideas of John Locke or Thomas Paine (Grinde 1992: 228-280). The American system of government, however, is not merely a product of European culture, but a blend of European and Native-American thoughts and values.

Indigenous farmers domesticated many agricultural products that are now standard fare for most Americans. These include maize, squash, plums, pumpkins, cranberries, maple syrup, and turkey. Furthermore, the first European colonists copied and adopted Native American agricultural techniques and they learned from indigenous people how to prepare the New World foods.

Although today more than five million American citizens claim Native-American ancestry, such ethnic ascription is seldom mentioned (Butzer 1990: 47-50). For many years, schools discouraged, or even forbade, teachers to point out that some early Anglo settlers married Native Americans. This taboo is rooted in nineteenth-century Victorian values that deemed it immoral for the races to mix. In some states, as late as the 1960s, it was illegal for Native Americans and non-Indians to marry (Weatherford 1991: 271-285). Recently, it has become not only socially acceptable but even fashionable to claim Indian ancestry (Stiffarm and Lane 1992: 23-54).

Native-American influences are evident in the architecture of the Southwest. The flat-roofed stucco house, for example, is a modern version of the architecture of the Hopi and other pueblo groups (Butzer 1990: 44-50). The American version of the English language includes many words (or modifications of words) from indigenous languages. Place names such as Walla Walla, Chicago, Yakima, Mohawk, and Massachusetts provide obvious examples. Native people have also made significant contributions to the American culture in art and music.

Given the richness of the Native-American heritage, it is relatively easy to correct the errors of omission made in the past by exposing students to the importance of Indian contributions to the development of twentieth-century America.

The Myth of the Bloodthirsty Savage

The expansion of the United States from the Appalachians to the Pacific Ocean in little more than a century is a story of epic proportions. It has also come to symbolize the essence of the American experience. The bravery of the pioneers who challenged a vast land to establish productive family farms has become legend.

Conversely, the tenacity of the indigenous population who fought to defend their families, homes, and cultures, has only recently received serious attention in classrooms or the media. Instead, American students, throughout the greater part of the twentieth century, learned that the pioneers were forced to fight bloodthirsty savages who stood in the way of progress and the spread of American democracy. Therefore, generations of Americans accepted, and even supported, disastrous federal policies designed to solve the "Indian problem" (Holm 1992: 345-370). These policies included attempts to eliminate the native population through violence and war, the isolation of indigenous people on inhospitable tracts of land, and the forced assimilation of Native Americans into the dominant society. Teaching can easily overcome the characterization of Native Americans as bloodthirsty savages with a factual version of how the West was won.

The Myth of Indian Lands in Perpetuity

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the federal government forced many native groups, including the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creek, Osage, Shawnee, Kickapoo, and others living in the eastern U. S. to relocate and settle in Indian Territory west of the Mississippi River (Fig. 13.1). President Andrew Jackson promised that the new lands would be forever reserved exclusively for Indian use. Within a few years, however, large numbers of Anglo (white) immigrants began to settle in Indian Territory. Despite some weak efforts by the federal government to protect native land, Anglo settlement continued throughout the mid-nineteenth century.

Figure 13.1. The West, 1850-54 (Tyler 1973)

The U. S. has always been inconsistent in its policies toward the Indian nations. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these policies vacillated between efforts to eliminate, isolate, or assimilate native people. In the nineteenth century, the federal government ended its policy of maintaining the large, unorganized Indian Territory in favor of separate reservations within which native people could be confined and, therefore, removed from the path of Anglo settlement (Tyler 1973: 70-94).

Soon after the dominant society forced native people into dependency on reservations, the government once again implemented a shift in policy. In the last years of the nineteenth century, Congress decided that reservations were too costly to maintain. The federal government then established a policy designed to eliminate Native-American cultures through the elimination of reservations and tribal identities.

In 1887, Congress, wishing to save money and to open more land for white settlement, passed the Dawes Act. This legislation called for all Native-American families to accept an individual allotment of reservation land upon which they were to establish an Anglo-style family farm. All remaining reservation land could then be declared surplus and opened for non-Indian settlement. As a direct result of the allotment program, Indian land decreased from 56 million hectares (138 million acres) in 1887 to only 21 million hectares (52 million acres) by 1934. Now, non-Indians own most of this land.

The Assimilation Myth

The Dawes Act also called for the use of the educational system to encourage Native Americans to assimilate into the dominant society. To accomplish this assimilation, schools taught Indian children to reject all that was Native American in favor of European values, attitudes, and beliefs (McDonnell 1991). As late as the 1960s, the federal government educated many Native-American children in boarding schools where teachers punished them for speaking their native languages and encouraged them to adopt the customs and culture of Anglo society (Noriega 1992: 371-402).

Whereas Anglos consistently favored the forced assimilation of Native Americans into the dominant culture, most were not in favor of the integration of indigenous people into the mainstream of American society. Not until 1924, during Calvin Coolidge's presidency, did the federal government offer citizenship to all Native Americans born in the United States (Tyler 1973: 110).

Throughout most of the twentieth century, the federal government regularly adjusted its policies relative to the indigenous population. During the 1920s, it became readily apparent that efforts to turn Native Americans into independent farmers had failed and the allotment process ceased in 1934. The government, however, did not abandon its efforts to eliminate the Indian nations and thereby relieve the U. S. of all treaty responsibilities.

Starting in 1953, Congress began to identify tribes deemed ready for termination. Terminated tribes no longer had special relationships with the federal government and could not hold land collectively. For some tribes, termination brought disaster. The vast majority of the people who lived on the terminated reservations did not easily assimilate into the dominant society and, in many cases, soon became dependent on the welfare systems of the states in which they lived. In short, the termination program was a dismal failure (Hagan 1993: 179-86). As Congress pressed ahead with the termination of reservations, the government encouraged people to leave their reservations and move into major urban areas. Government officials reasoned that if most Native Americans could be absorbed within the large urban centers, there would no longer be a need for reservations or special Native-American programs. To motivate people to leave the reservations and move to cities such as Los Angeles, Chicago, Phoenix, and San Francisco, the government offered job placement assistance and vocational education.

The relocation program was not a great success. Some Native Americans survived and prospered, but far more found the cities to be harsh, alien environments. Those who were unable to thrive in the cities generally returned to their reservations (if their reservations still existed) with-

in a few years after moving to metropolitan areas (Hagan 1993: 179-86).

The Myth of Self-Determination and Indian Sovereignty

In the 1930s, the Indian Reorganization Act called upon Native Americans to relinquish their tribal forms of government in favor of the central council model. Many tribes resisted, but the federal government reorganized all tribal governments anyway. For many Indian nations, the council form of government was ineffective and caused considerable dissonance within tribal societies. Even now, top-down tribal governments, initially imposed by the federal government, thwart the economic development efforts of many tribes (Cornell and Kalt 1995: 1-60). In recent years, because of the 1975 Self-Determination and Education Act, Native Americans have assumed increasing responsibility for the governance of their reservations. Nevertheless, they remain subject to the paternalism of the federal government.

Non-Indians sometimes view reservations and native entitlement as special privileges; they fail to realize that it is only because tribes were forced onto reservations and into submission that these special arrangements exist. In many cases, these benefits are guaranteed by official treaties between the various Indian nations and the federal government. For students to appreciate fully the Native-American experience, they must understand that the apparent dependency of many tribes is more a manifestation of the policies of the federal government than a matter of choice on the part of the Indian nations (Robbins 1992: 87-122).

Myths about Native-American Women

Native-American women are often portrayed in insulting and demeaning stereotypes. They are sometimes characterized as dull-witted, fat, unclean, indolent, unattractive beasts. The reverse of this stereotype is the beautiful Indian maiden who cannot wait for a civilized, clean-cut Anglo male to come along to rescue her from the savagery of her people. Most non-Indians are unaware of the important leadership roles of women in many traditional Native-American societies. In the Hopi culture, for example, women held exclusive use rights over tribal lands. In other Indian nations, such as the Seneca, women held powerful political positions. Moreover, one seldom reads of the great strengths and power of Native-American women who managed to raise their children through years of persecution and malevolence. Yet, without the uncommon bravery and determination of Indian women, the Indian nations could not have survived the conquering hordes of non-Indians throughout the last several hundred years of American history. Furthermore, many Native-American women are leaders today. Wilma Mankiller of the Cherokee Nation is a good example. Indian women also hold positions of power within the dominant society as teachers, lawyers, and in many other capacities (Jaimes and Halsey 1992: 311-44).

Conclusions

American education should help students search for the truth about the evolution of their culture and the landscape of the U. S. Unfortunately, lessons about Native Americans are often brief, filled with scanty information (or even misinformation), and totally inadequate. Such approaches reinforce the old myths that minimize the significant contributions of Indian people to the creation of the American culture and landscape. Instead, teachers must learn about the new interpretations of the Native-American experience and share them with their students.

Given that indigenous groups occupied North America for thousands of years before contact with Europeans, it seems appropriate to dedicate more than a few hours of class time to the topic of Native Americans. To do less is to allow another generation of Americans to become adults without a complete understanding of the nation in which they live.

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CHAPTER 14

Teaching American-Indian Geographies

Robert A. Rundstrom

I teach a course titled, "American-Indian Geographies," which is about indigenous peoples of North America. Most of the topics I cover fall under the heading of cultural geography. Indeed, my first title for the course was the cumbersome, "Cultural Geography of Indigenous North America," which when printed in the class schedule read "Cult Geo Indig NA." Who would enroll in such a class? My attempts at inclusion (after all, Alaskan Eskimos, Aleuts, and the Canadian Inuit with whom I have worked are not Indian) had been rendered meaningless. Whatever the title, I do not consider the fact that I teach about Indians and Inuit as an indication that I am dealing with an ethnic group or ethnic people. It took me a while to come to this conclusion. For me, the classification "ethnic" began to grow distasteful as I became increasingly dissatisfied with my own approach to the study of different geographies of the people labeled "Native American."

An Essential Prolegomenon

Like many geographers, I have used the phrases "ethnic geography" and "ethnicity" uncritically, blurring them with the concepts of race and culture; and although all three terms—race, culture, ethnicity—overlap and are, to my mind, socially constructed, they do refer to different ideas. As I reviewed the way geographers often use the concept of the ethnic, I began to think that it refers to anyone currently living in the United States who was born in another country, or a relatively recent descendant of someone who was; but then, almost as an afterthought, we include African Americans and Indians, our "erstwhile minorities," to use Immanuel Wallerstein's apt description (Wallerstein 1991).

Ever since the work of Glazer and Moynihan in the 1960s and 1970s, academicians and nonacademicians alike have frequently regarded ethnicity in their terms, as the character or quality of an ethnic group. To be a member of an ethnic group is to be a kind of container of traits deriving from a shared heredity or culture that is considered discrete, separate, bounded, and relatively inflexible and permanent until it melts into the great American pot. Ethnicity is tied, perhaps bound is not too strong a term, to statehood and the assimilationist thinking that too often promotes the needs of the state ahead of the needs of people. When we label people as "an ethnic group," we draw a line around them—as often happens in cartographic representations—and point at them as if to say, "you people" (to borrow Ross Perot's unfortunate phrase) are different and unassimilated and therefore constitute a potential problem of indigestion for the state. "You people" and the "ethnic" are synonymous.

Even when we find cultural difference celebrated as a welcome and fascinating display of ethnic heritage, we reify what many anthropologists and literary critics have been arguing for some time is not a property at all, but a relation. Literary critic Edward Said and anthropologist Thomas Eriksen have been among the most helpful in showing me how to look at ethnicity from an interactive, relational standpoint (Eriksen 1993; Said 1993).

Drawing on a number of studies from around the world, Eriksen says ethnicity consists of: (1) an Us-Them contrast that is not given but constructed; (2) the reaffirmation of particular identities; (3) the presence of a shared field for discourse and interaction; (4) a need to communicate cultural difference to others that are intentionally understood as being dissimilar; (5) the possibility of losing or gaining something through the interaction; and finally (6) ethnicity consists of majority populations no less than minorities, as the two are linked by this relationship.

Edward Said (1993) finds that the "urge to sovereignty,"—to dichotomize us and them—is

strong now at the very same time as our ability to distinguish one peoples' influence on another becomes nearly impossible. Difference is emphasized even as hybridity becomes more and more obvious. Assigning blame becomes a futile exercise, he argues, because of intertwined histories, and we can see this easily if we would only look at what he calls "the map of everyday interactions" that reveal the tangled realities—the mongrel past—more than any ethnic essence. Although ethnicity is drawn from cultural substance, that substance does not belong to one idealized group.

All the above might seem like nothing but overly analytical stray text in a chapter on how to teach about American-Indian geographies, but it bears directly on how I came to teach that very course. I felt forced to confront the above issues before I could decide how my teaching effort would relate to my research interests, and what to do in the classroom. Had I taken a new faculty position in 1991 somewhere besides the University of Oklahoma (OU) I might have allowed myself to sidestep it all, though I am not willing to argue that location should matter much in this case. The fact is simple: I was uneasy at the prospect of teaching in the State of Oklahoma about Indians and I wanted to be thoroughly prepared.

Something else in teaching about American Indians relates directly to this matter of ethnic geography. The overwhelming majority of historical research and much geographical discourse presents Indians in relation to white society or the American government or both. It seems as if these histories and geographies are part of a drama, and the stage on which this drama is to be played is a national and white one, onto which Indians are called to do their bit in the first act. Thereafter, they are invisible. Awareness of this bias pushed me to de-emphasize past Indian-white relations in favor of geographies of Indian worlds in the contemporary period. Let me underscore my view that historical awareness and cross-cultural relations are very important topics. Indeed, I teach these subjects in a part of my course. The bulk of it, however, deals with contemporary Indian worlds, geographical aspects of Indian and Inuit cultures that exist today more or less independent of relations with the non-Indian world. From my perspective, it is this focus along with the concerns raised earlier that takes the subject out of the realm of ethnic geography.

The Content of American-Indian Geographies

In 1990, the provost at OU christened an interdisciplinary university-wide course offering, "World Cultures and Traditions," and authorized a search for three new faculty to help teach it. Criteria for the new hires included field experience working among people in a non-Western culture. In addition, each instructor would create a new course in their home department fulfilling a new three-hour non-Western course requirement for all OU students. The overall intent was to expose students as directly as possible to the ideas, philosophies, customs, and creative thinking of people who think substantially differently on these subjects from most OU students. In a word, it was OU's move toward diversity. Obviously, the ideal and most direct contact would have been produced by hiring from within the very cultures students would study. Most universities, however, have not advanced far enough to make that kind of decision. I was hired, in part, to develop a geography course. Jim Goodman already taught a course, "Indian Lands," that dealt with the relational subjects of land tenure and land use. In short, I was free to use the cultural approach that I wanted, to expose students to Indian and Inuit geographical ideas, and to do so within an activist agenda of trying to make a small positive change in students' lives.

Within some institutional constraints then, I chose not to focus on issues of population or economic geography (e.g., land tenure, reservation system, tax status, gambling). I also do not deal much with urban Indians in metropolitan areas, although this too is a vital topic. Instead, I teach cultural geography using John K. Wright's concept of geosophy (ethnogeography in anthropology) as my guiding philosophy (Wright 1966).

The focus is on understanding the principles and systems underlying some indigenous ways of thinking geographically, including: places as reservoirs of power; ideas about sacred land; envi-

ronmental perceptions; concepts of space; how nature operates; navigation; and toponyms. I emphasize attaining cross-cultural understanding (it turns out that in each semester I have only 1-3 students who are culturally Indian) of geographies associated with these places and peoples: Alcatraz and Wounded Knee; the Tewa and Tiwa (Pueblo); Mvskoke (Creek); Tsattine (Beaver Indians of Canada); Inuit (Eskimo of the central Canadian Arctic); Kiowa; and Western Apache and Mescalero Apache. Broadly put, I focus on three themes: human-environment relations (Tewa/Tiwa, Mvskoke, Tsattine, Inuit); personal and community spatial orientation (Tewa/Tiwa, Mescalero Apache, Tsattine, Inuit); and sense of place (all of them).

I draw from both native and nonnative scholarly authors as well as poetry and short stories written by native writers. I usually have seven required texts: *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (1996) by Keith Basso; *Maps and Dreams* (1988) by Hugh Brody; *Native America: Portrait of the Peoples* (1994) edited by Duane Champagne; *The Woman Who Fell from the Sky* (book and audiotape; 1994) by Joy Harjo; *Taos Pueblo and Its Sacred Blue Lake* (1991) by Marcia Keegan; *The Rediscovery of North America* (1992) by Barry Lopez; and *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (1969) by N. Scott Momaday. It looks like massive amounts of reading at first glance, especially when I pile on additional article-length works on reserve at the library. The heft is but an illusion. Lopez's book is a 58-page lecture delivered during the Columbian Quincentenary, Keegan's slim volume is only sixty-three pages, and Momaday's time-bending and poetic immigration story is even shorter. Brody and Basso are outstanding field anthropologists and writers, so students typically get enthusiastically immersed in the worlds represented therein. Harjo is a poet, of course; we read selections of her work for its rich place imagery. Finally, Champagne's massive 786-page effort summarizes briefly all things Indian. I have searched repeatedly for a strong basal reader that describes the current places, events, and tribes as well as histories and biographies; *Native America* is the best I have seen. Currently, it lists for $18.95, which must set some kind of record for pages per penny in the academic market. I ask students to read approximately one-fourth of it, and they still praise its dollar value.

I also require that students read another eleven articles that amount to approximately one hundred additional pages. Vizenor (1978) provides a window into one kind of urban existence circa 1975. Deloria (1992) and Momaday (1976) are the best at attempting to identify a pan-Indian regard for place and environment. Deloria's latest book, *Red Earth, White Lies: The Myth of Scientific Fact* (1995) includes the article I use in class, but I think the reading load in the class is sufficiently demanding already to preclude using the whole book. Momaday's short essay, in the form of an interview, contains his concept of "reciprocal appropriation," which I consider the most lucid and accessible description of a pan-Indian environmental sensibility in print. Momaday (1979), Ridington (1987), and Silko (1987) offer well-written insights into the link between language and landscape among the Kiowa, human-animal relations among the Beaver Indians (Brody's Tsattine) and the landscape concept at the Keresan Pueblos, respectively. All three are exceptionally good at linking concepts of time with geographical expression. Finally, I use five pieces on Inuit cultural geographies to flesh out that unit of the course (Arima 1976; Brody 1976; Hume 1989; Pelly 1991; Rundstrom 1992).

The Path of the Course

A brief survey of a fifteen-week semester will provide a sense of the path the course follows. A small map quiz, two take-home exams, and one ten-page research paper are required as the semester proceeds.

I spend the first four hours of the course (three classes) reviewing stereotypes and other mythic representations. I dwell at length on the contradictions inherent in two competing mythic ideals of geographical significance: the Indian as a paradise-dwelling, innocent child of God, who is organically endowed with ecological wisdom—the good Indian, and the Indian as a wilderness-dwelling, brutal, and uncivilized demon with uncontrollable urges—the bad Indian. I trace the ori-

gins of these European ideas to the fifteenth century, when a new world was discovered that had dramatic influence on the geographical perceptions of old world elites. Then, I bring these ideas quickly forward to talk about contemporary stereotypes of Indian-environmental relations that are currently at large in our society.

The next segment of the course (approximately three weeks) is an attempt to convey some basic facts about the location of contemporary Indian populations in the U. S. and Canada, especially post-World War II changes in their distributions, and most important, the causes and aftermath of events occurring at Alcatraz (1969-71) and Wounded Knee (1890 and 1973). One result of our discussions is that students come to know why these two are among the most important places in contemporary Indian Country, and how they contribute to a post-World War II pan-Indian sense of place.

The next four segments of the course deal with specific cultural systems of environmental relations, spatial orientation, and sense of place associated with the Mescalero Apache, Mvskoke, Inuit, and the Eight Northern Pueblos of New Mexico (Tewa and Tiwa). I have extensive lectures based on scholarly and nonscholarly, native- and nonnative-authored publications, and as the result of personal field experience among the last three in this group. My Mescalero lectures derive primarily from Farrer (1991). The particular order in which they are taught is flexible and depends on several factors: how I choose to couple them with class readings; when a speaker might be able to visit; and when I perceive the students' readiness for the material. For example, I use Alfonso Ortiz's *Tewa World: Space, Time, Being, and Becoming in a Pueblo Society* (1969) as a source for lecture material because its rich level of explanation is unmatched with respect to Pueblo culture. It is, however, pitched at too high a level for most undergraduate students to digest directly. I can enrich student understanding further with stories and other information from personal experience, but, despite this strategy, I seldom begin the series of four case studies with the Tewa because students simply are not prepared for it.

Because of the representational issues I raise in the beginning of the course, I am compelled to seek ways to bring students directly in contact with Indian people and their world. I have often thought the ideal format for such a course would involve a passenger train or large bus from which students would disembark for days or weeks to visit and learn from people in particular Indian communities. Even short day-trips to Oklahoma communities are highly problematic for thirty or forty individuals with different daily schedules. Instead, I bring in speakers mainly from Oklahoma Indian communities, but from elsewhere on occasion, to talk with students about topics that relate to the class themes. Although I pay speakers (usually about $100 for a two-hour session) for their time and effort, I often see their visit as a social occasion. So lunch and time for leisurely conversation is usually included in the bargain. Finally, I ask for permission to videotape these special class sessions for two reasons. First, I can demonstrate my gratitude for speaker participation by reciprocating with several video copies of the class, which the speakers can distribute within their community as they see fit. Slowly I build a small bank of videos that I can use in future semesters when other speakers may be available. Clearly, this represents one of the advantages of working in Oklahoma, but I have also been able to bring in people from outside the state.

The Rediscovery of North America

As we near the end of the course, I bring the students back to the beginning. The very first day of class includes an assignment to read Lopez's *Rediscovery of North America.* He registers a complaint about the way in which Europeans and their descendants have gone about trying to make a home in North America. Lopez argues that we have not accomplished such an occupation of the continent yet, and he proceeds to offer suggestions on how to avail ourselves of the accumulated indigenous intelligence that still exists here.

Near semester's end I ask the students to write a five- to seven-page personal proposal—a

thoughtful essay with no research required—for increasing their understanding of and connections to environment, place, and space. It is an agenda for personal geographical enlightenment and well-being, an answer to Lopez's urgent request. I ask them to discuss what changes they could make in their mundane daily habits to foster such understanding and connection. I instruct them to avail themselves of the intelligence of peoples we have studied, not to copy or mimic in superficial, naive ways (in-class discussions of colonial behavior develop during the section on stereotypes and representations), but to see how other systems of knowing about the world and behaving toward it might shed light on what they can do to establish or strengthen their own geographical bonds. As the noted education theorist Paulo Freire (1973) claimed, activism is necessary to cross-cultural education because no one learns anything without making at least a small change in their life.

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CHAPTER 15

Teaching Environmental Conservation from a Native-American Perspective

Martha L. Henderson

For several years I taught an introductory geography course at the University of Minnesota, Duluth (UMD) titled Environmental Conservation. The course provided physical science credits for the undergraduate core curriculum requirements and was an optional requirement for the geography major. The student population varied because of large enrollments and I rarely met any of the students on a one-to-one basis. I was surprised to find a student from the class at my office door one day who said he wanted to talk with me. He introduced himself as William Goodbear, a member of the Winnebago Indian Tribe, a group, he informed me, in which the men are known for speaking their minds in public.

He stood at the door and said, "You teach this class differently. How did you learn that?" he questioned me in a strong voice.

"Learn what?" I said.

"You know, nature and community," he replied.

I stared at him for a moment, quickly trying to piece together my thoughts about his question, hoping to formulate a reasonable, believable, and politically sensitive answer. Ideas about native learners, maintaining the integrity of geography as a science, and the themes that I had tried to develop in the classroom raced through my mind. Finally I gave up any pretense of trying to make a correct answer and said, "I've spent a lot of time outdoors, I don't know how else to think about environmental conservation."

"I was telling some of my friends on the reservation about this class. We decided to give you a name that we use for people who think like us. Henuunkchakodo," he said. "It means friend."

I assumed "we" meant the Winnebago Indians. I reached for the tobacco I kept in my bag for such occasions and offered it as a gift. He stepped further into my office and proceeded to tell me his life story. Finally he left, no doubt convinced that he had won me over to provide him with additional academic support. I did not know what to make of the name he had bestowed upon me. Was he appealing to what he perceived as a wannabee attitude on my part? Or did he really mean what he said? I had no desire to be an American Indian, so I decided to take his comment as a gift.

I rarely saw William Goodbear after that. He was a returning adult student who had just received custody of three of his six children. He wanted to get a degree in engineering but I knew he was having problems attending class and completing the assignments. When he did come to class, some, if not all his children hung about him and vied for his attention. I thought about William and how he undoubtedly lived two lives, one on the reservation trying to make a home for himself and his children, and one at UMD where he hoped to gain a college education and career. I wondered what he saw in my class to make it appealing to his sense of cultural identity, and I wondered what other students were taking from the class.

In this chapter, I consider some of my conclusions about this event and the basic themes on which I grounded the course. I argue that teaching environmental conservation in geography offers a number of opportunities to bridge the social and natural sciences and to establish social justice as an appropriate topic in environmental conservation. I also consider some pedagogical possibilities in introductory, large-enrollment courses that many faculty teaching a similar course might face. These concerns provide an avenue for addressing the stated objectives of teaching with a sensitivity to other cultural, racial, and ethnic realities. William Goodbear's story affirms the need for educators to present more than one reality in the classroom.

Bridging the Natural and Social Sciences

When I agreed to teach environmental conservation at UMD, I did a mental survey of students who tended to enroll in the course. Their expectations of the course usually ran along the lines of "how to save the world" to "just tell me what I need to know to pass this class." I knew, from advising students from across the campus, that it was possible to fulfill the physical science core requirements by taking biology and geology classes that likewise were listed as environmental courses. Students were also offered environmental topics in English, Women's Studies, and Political Science at UMD. What did geography have to offer that these perspectives did not provide? Essentially, what is geographical about the subject of environmental conservation? How can geographers present a unique discussion and provide pertinent tools for solving environmental issues? What perspectives can geographers include in their courses that provide lessons about the discipline of geography?

I came to the conclusion that environmental conservation was being taught by many scientists and social theorists as if it were a legitimate topic within each field, without explaining any context of environmental conservation or what specific perspectives each field had to offer to the discussion. For example, geologists teach all the basics of tectonics and hydrology and then add something about water conservation, natural hazards, land use planning, and geographic information systems. Biologists emphasize ecological processes and population dynamics with some reference to toxic waste management and habitat conservation areas. Social scientists and humanities scholars place environmentalism and its affiliated topics in a historical or social context, generally with little reference to the physical processes of the environment.

Geography is a unique science in that it focuses on relationships within space and place. Geography has the ability to identify relationships in the environment that help people understand how and why we make decisions about the environment in the way we do. William Goodbear offered the other students an opportunity to see relationships from an American Indian perspective. By using a viewpoint that focuses on space and place relationships, we can link physical and social sciences to explain environmental conservation.

Exploring Space and Place Relationships

What geographers have to offer students is a focus on relationships between humans and earth processes that vary in time and space, and the creation of places and landscapes that symbolize those relationships. Geographers, more than any other group of scientists, examine the environment as constructed by human interaction with physical systems and processes. In examining environments, students must be grounded in biological and geological principles. There is no substitute for good physical science. These principles take form as the natural environment only when we recognize patterns of social and cultural practices. The focus of the geographer is on the spatial relationships and landscapes that develop as humans interact with earth processes.

The relationship between humans and earth is not equal across all earth-space. Geographical fundamentals of mapping and regional analysis can be stressed in trying to unravel questions about human population dynamics, carrying capacities, waste disposal, and how to provide all the energy and materials necessary for survival. The spatial dynamics and regional patterns of these topics are the basis for teaching environmental conservation in a geography curriculum.

In attempting to explore these relationships with students, I used *Exploitation, Conservation and Preservation: A Geographical Perspective on Natural Resource Use* (Cutter, Renwick, and Renwick 1991) because it is the only textbook that considers environmental conservation from a geographical perspective. The authors state (Cutter, Renwick, and Renwick 1991: 1):

> "Geographers examine the interactions between human beings and neutral stuff—the earth and its working parts. When geographers focus on natural resources, we are asking: What portions of the earth's whole have people found of value? Why? How do these

values arise? How do conflicts arise, and how are they resolved?"

The Concept of Bioregionalism

The concept of bioregionalism is central to these discussions. Whether geography as a discipline has embraced this concept or not, the fact is that many resource management agencies, such as the United States Forest Service and the National Park Service, are attempting to define and protect bioregions across the country. These agencies are working at scales of investigation and regional identity that require geographic analyses. Geographic information systems are a major tool in their analysis of the intersection between humans and physical systems. For example, researchers are studying both the Columbia River drainage and the Lake Superior drainage from a bioregional perspective. Teaching about bioregions will encourage and enhance student recognition of human-land relationships and create an adult population able to participate in some of the most fundamental decision-making about American landscapes in American history.

One of the simplest methods for introducing the concept of bioregion is to ask students to identify local physiographic features, changes in the seasons, land uses, sources of water, and the location of local waste facility treatment plants. A good example of questions can be found in "Where You At? A Bioregional Quiz" (Merchant 1992: 219). When I asked students to find the answers to this quiz, William Goodbear, because he was a hunter and recognized seasonal changes, brought information to class that other students had a difficult time locating.

Using a bioregional quiz requires an instructor to consider local environmental conditions and sources of information. Generally, a geographer's research area does not correspond with employment location, and an investment in learning local conditions may not seem wise given other demands and commitments on time. Using research experience to relate concepts of bioregionalism and showing parallel learning experiences for a local bioregion can be instructive. This tack emphasizes not only the need to recognize local environments but it can also serve to illustrate the environmental complexity and aesthetics of other regions.

Social Conditions and Political Contexts

Social conditions and political contexts are critical to the discussion. The fact that human constructions must be addressed is explicit even in the name of the course, Environmental Conservation. The use of the term conservation is a culturally and socially defined concept. It implies a political and physical context in which we view natural and social systems. One important way to bridge the sciences and humanities is to discuss changing social attitudes toward resources, the rate of consumption, and attempts to preserve specific areas of the environment. The creation of separated spaces symbolizes a growing tendency in American society to compartmentalize social activities by assigning them to specific places.

Students completing an environmental conservation course in a geography department should be able to understand the spatial relationships, temporal conditions, and corresponding places and landscapes that define the relationship between humans and earth. Geographers can stress the use of geographic information systems, not as a mapping tool, but as a means to analyze data to discover the statistical strengths of relationships. Students can become conversant in decision-making based on tested relationships between unique conditions in specific places and regions.

William Goodbear was comfortable when I talked about his local bioregion. During our brief meeting, he thanked me for referring to his sense of place, seasonality, and time horizons that included centuries of biological productivity rather than time necessary for resource exploitation. He particularly emphasized his relationship between physical and social conditions on the reservation and spoke about his community's constant reliance on nature for food and fuel. His concerns about the environment were focused on the relationships between the social and the physical, and he recognized that both elements created his sense of home and community.

Social Justice

Community dependency upon and creation of local environments are a necessary discussion in environmental conservation. Local communities often bear the consequences of industrial or commercial use of natural resources. Acknowledged and perceived threats to community health and the health of individuals within a community has instigated environmental activism, demanded better science, and transformed the places and the people who felt threatened. William Goodbear voiced his concerns about a mining operation that was proposed for northern Wisconsin. The Chippewa communities would bear the largest environmental risks either as neighbors to the operation or recipients of wastes in the surface and underground water supply. The Chippewa and many other local residents were working together to resist the mining company. This story is too often heard in areas where environmentally destructive activities have been located in segregated neighborhoods.

The spatial distribution of toxic waste disposal facilities, nuclear reactors, chemical production plants, and hazardous chemical transport systems can provide lessons in the geography of race, ethnicity, and class. Such discussions can lead to an analysis of how communities define themselves, how leadership develops, and how decision-making processes occur. The steps of environmental impact assessment preparation and public hearing events can also be incorporated into these discussions. If possible, encourage students to attend public hearings and follow a particular case.

Students can begin to learn that environmental issues are not someplace else or only about protecting wilderness areas or recycling. In a geography course we must incorporate the bureaucratic processes that have been developed over time in the United States to protect public health and specific habitats. These political and social languages construct the environment in which students will live and work. The environment is what we make it and students can begin to recognize that they have a role in creating their surroundings. One important theme in social justice is to remind students that they are powerful and creative, they do not have to accept any blame or remorse for being humans. To borrow Wallace Sterna's phrase, faculty can be instrumental in creating a "geography of hope."

The Power to Create Environments

William Goodbear recognized his power to create environments when he talked about teaching his children about nature. He described taking them fishing and to family events that were held outdoors. He wanted community elders, both men and women, to teach his children ways of knowing nature. His hopes were based on the knowledge of people who had lived in the area for an extended period of time. The knowledge of the elders is traditional knowledge. The possibility to emphasize authority of traditional knowledge in land use planning or environmental sciences can become available and usable when considered in a geography course on environmental conservation. Be able to recognize the traditional knowledge of students; for example, you can draw students who claim to know the environment because they are hunters or fishers into a discussion at this point. Discuss a wide variety of technologies from a temporal and spatial perspective.

The Lipan Apache, before being placed on the Mescalero Apache Reservation in New Mexico, had a saying about their locales. The Lipan said that they would live in a place until they saw a reflection of themselves. The Lipan recognized when they had over-hunted the game in an area or when other foodstuffs were becoming overtaxed. They saw their reflection in the accumulation of wastes and the loss of water supplies. Prior to reservation assignment, the Lipan had the opportunity to move on to a new location. No one has that luxury today. Geographical training provides effective decision-making tools and strategies that can lead to careers in natural resource management or research agencies.

Possible Pedagogies

When I first started teaching environmental conservation at UMD, I lived on a small lake at the end of mail carrier service. I had plenty of opportunities to watch and listen to local environmental conditions. I also met my neighbors, most of whom had nothing good to say about the regional planning or planners in the area. I listened to their concerns with an ear for the political and social positions they expressed. I often started class with a short story about the eagle I had seen or the potential loss of state timber revenue because of a severe windstorm. What was the habitat of the eagle, and why was I beginning to see more eagles? Were there values other than providing income to the county from the state forest lands? I once started a controversy about the distribution of wolves south of Duluth by reporting that I had seen wolf prints on the sandy beach in front of my house. I am not suggesting here that good teaching always includes creating controversy. I am suggesting that teaching environmental conservation not only includes solid grounding in physical and social sciences but an ability to demonstrate observation skills, critical thinking skills, and clarification of the historical and social contexts in which communities exist.

Teaching observation skills is becoming increasingly important with social changes in young student populations. I could sincerely answer William Goodbear that I had spent a lot of time outdoors because I grew up in a family that valued outdoor activities and because I had sought summer jobs and had worked full time for a number of years in resource management agencies. I had learned to observe daily weather conditions, topography, and ecology in the process of managing resources. I had learned to be constantly observing physical systems. I learned in my graduate education at Louisiana State University to observe, describe, and analyze how people interact with and create their environments. Most young people do not have these experiences, and it is folly to believe that first, they do, and second, they want to. The curiosity and joy that brought many of us to geography as a life's work is seldom available for most American students today. Providing even a basic introduction and excitement about observation skills including scientific field notetaking is critical. It is difficult but not impossible to have a relationship with nature if a student feels uncomfortable walking outdoors. Assigning even a fifteen-minute period of walking in a natural setting with a follow-up in species identification and written observations will strengthen concepts of connectedness and relational conditions in the environment. William Goodbear returned from a walk with a long list of observed environmental conditions. My role as a facilitator of learning was to help him analyze his discoveries.

Critical Thinking, Consensus Building, Responsibility for Learning

Critical thinking about the observed environment can follow such an activity. Students ponder about the observed, considering where and why it appears where it does, who controls the observed, what are the physical and social conditions in which the observed appears or does not appear, and how to conserve the observed. Finally, students can develop decision-making skills and consensus building.

Consensus building and other forms of group decision-making are important concepts to be stressed in environmental conservation. Communities survive best when their members identify lines of communication and observe social organization patterns. The history of environmental activism and alternative methods for solving environmental problems can be identified as having a focus on communities. Good communication skills are required in any resource management or environmental studies position. Games or role modeling can often assist in facilitating these learning objectives. These learning objectives are important at the introductory level. The excitement of learning about the environment should draw students to more advanced courses in geography that facilitate learning about quantitative and qualitative measurements, analysis, and conclusions about human-land relationships.

William Goodbear had to take responsibility for his learning. That meant that sometimes he had

to bring his children to class, reminding all of us that we are part of a community. He asked questions and brought alternative perspectives to the classroom. This took courage on his part, and it took courage on the part of the non-Indian students in the classroom to listen to his point of view. It required that I create a classroom environment where students felt comfortable to express themselves. Teaching ways of bridging that which separates humans from nature and placing an emphasis on respect rather than fear, conservation rather than aggressive exploitation of resources, and sacredness of community rather than wilderness made William Goodbear and others feel comfortable in the classroom. Eventually, some students saw at the end of the quarter that the examinations and measurements of learning I put them through were there to encourage their learning, not simply as a positive reward system.

Conclusion

The Klingit Tribe of the Pacific Northwest believe that when they send their children away from town or camp to spend time alone in a natural setting, the children become educated. When the children return home, the parents respect them because the children are thought to have insights important to the maintenance of the community. The children have been taught by nature and have fresh and new insights because of their experience with nature. William Goodbear expressed the same concerns and respect as he left my office. Teaching introductory environmental conservation from a native perspective can reinforce similar knowledge and respect. It may lead some students to take advanced geography, physical and social sciences, and humanities courses, and assist all of us in creating an environment that provides for the realities of all species on earth.

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PART V. ETHNIC GEOGRAPHY THROUGH MAPS, FAMILY, AND FILM

CHAPTER 16

Using Maps in American Ethnic Geography

James P. Allen

Most people who teach American ethnic geography will probably make maps an integral part of their students' experiences. Maps help us focus on the spatial patterns of ethnic groups, the processes that created those patterns, and the likely interrelations between those patterns and other aspects of life in different places. Indeed, using maps underscores geography's distinctive viewpoint—its emphasis on location and spatial relationships. Some teachers, however, may stress other geographical themes more than spatiality. Depending on the theme, maps may play a much less important role. If a teacher is looking at ethnic landscapes, ethnic differences in ecological relations with the land, or the meaning of specific places for certain ethnic groups, maps might be used only for an initial orientation. By making some specific suggestions for using maps, this paper is intended to assist particularly those teachers who investigate the spatial aspects of ethnicity.

This chapter is organized in terms of the different scales of maps that can be useful in teaching American ethnic geography. After a brief introductory section regarding what kinds of groups should be included as ethnic, the discussion moves to the use of world maps, then to maps showing counties within the United States, and, finally, to maps and data for the study of neighborhoods.

Which Groups are Ethnic?

It is conceptually easier and more useful if teachers do not try to make a distinction between racial and ethnic groups. Ethnic group is the larger and more inclusive, so African Americans, American Indians, Asians, Latinos, and people of Mexican, Irish, German, Norwegian, or Armenian ancestry are all ethnic groups. This definition is appropriate because members of each group share a sense of identity—either a sense of peoplehood or common heritage felt by members of the group, an identity imposed on them by the wider society, or a combination of the two.

Some teachers may habitually restrict their concept of ethnic groups to American-Indian groups, African Americans, and various Asian and Hispanic (or Latino) groups. Another group—whites—have been so dominant numerically and in political and economic influence that most white Americans do not think of themselves as belonging to an ethnic group. Instead, they are apt to see themselves simply as Americans. This perception often seems to imply that African Americans and Asians are not real Americans. It is inconsistent to label African Americans, Chinese, and people of Mexican origin as minorities or ethnics while treating whites as nonethnic Americans. It makes more sense, however, to include whites as one of America's ethnic groups. In addition, whites often represent the standard by which we identify minority groups. From a minority perspective, whites also constitute the group that has most often discriminated against minorities.

For many white students, looking at themselves as members of an ethnic group will be a new experience. A change in their perspective does make possible a fairer and more complete examination of ethnic groups and ethnic geography. It permits students to view American society as composed of a series of somewhat fluid and partly overlapping ethnic societies that vary in

socioeconomic status (social class) and location. Variations in ethnic composition and status from one neighborhood, city, or county to another can be a major theme explored in American ethnic geography.

Also important to many people are their family roots or ancestry in some other country or culture. Many Americans are proud of having, for example, a Scottish, Irish, Norwegian, Lebanese, Armenian, Brazilian, Jamaican, Pakistani, or Chinese heritage. Such identities are also ethnic and are potentially included in any teaching of American ethnic geography. It can be especially illuminating for students to learn that these identities are very important for some white families even though they may not be for most. By including whites as an ethnic category and probing students' feelings about their family heritage in one country or another, teachers will find students more actively and personally involved with the topic of American ethnic geography than if we exclude this category.

World Maps of Family Origins and Migrations

Teachers probably use individual family migration histories widely, and they are eminently appropriate for use in American ethnic geography. Students interview parents and, ideally, grandparents to determine for each a place of birth, the specific countries, states, counties, or cities in which they have lived, and their recollection as to the reasons behind their migrations. I have found that students very much enjoy talking to family members about these matters, and the motivations behind these individual and family migrations almost always turn out to be more varied and interesting than students imagined. I have my students prepare a short written report (2-4 pages) detailing their findings about their family.

It is particularly illuminating for students to hear presented in class the migration histories of a number of their classmates' families. Of the written exercises turned in, you can select the best of those that involve international migration to be read or summarized in class by those who wrote them. Perhaps a dozen family migration histories should be presented orally for the class to get a sense of the diverse origins and migrations of the families.

Locating on a large world map the countries and cities of past residence is a useful way for students to become better acquainted with world geography. Small colored stickers representing the sequence of one family's migration can be temporarily pasted on a large wall map without harming the map. If the map is tacked to a poster board and stick pins are used, colored string can connect the sequence of places of residence to show the migrations.

Larger forces in a society often prompt family migrations, e.g., government repression, war, loss of work, low wages, or just a general perception of greater opportunities elsewhere. Discussion about the timing of migrations, the reasons behind them, and choices of destination frequently connect the family histories with major political or economic events, which then become much more personalized and vivid. For this reason, family migration histories are also a good technique to use in teaching modern world history.

In general, using world maps in this way helps students understand geographically what would otherwise be an almost meaningless litany of country and city names. Close examination of map patterns of family migrations as a part of the discussion may well suggest similarities of circumstances in different countries, such as persecution, rural depopulation, or new developments in transportation, agriculture, or manufacturing, although the timing of these changes may well differ from one country to another. Family migration histories can be used inductively in class discussions to suggest generalizations and to pose questions about important characteristics of countries and cities. In this way, geography and history are interestingly integrated, and the discussions deal with matters that students recognize as not trivial.

Maps of Regional Ethnic Patterns

If we continue with the theme of families in places but now focus on places in the United States, students who have already identified their family in terms of one, two, or three ethnic groups or ancestries may be curious as to where others of the same ethnic heritage tend to live.

Family and Ethnic Linkages between Places

One easy way to do this is with the reference book, *We the People: An Atlas of America's Ethnic Diversity* (Allen and Turner 1988), found in many public and school libraries. This atlas contains large maps that show 67 ethnic groups in the United States. The patterns are highly detailed because maps display data from the 1980 United States census for counties across the country. Using the atlas, students can readily locate their present home and homes of their relatives, although most students will need to ask their relatives for the names of specific home counties, cities, and towns. Picturing spatially the sequences of destinations of members of their family gives a personal meaning to different parts of the country that students may not have thought much about before.

The text of *We the People* provides historical explanations of many specific ethnic settlement concentrations. It is likely that some of the migration motivations students uncover in interviewing their family members relate to these explanations and to distinctive local and regional characteristics. Although relatives may recall the motivation to migrate in terms of very personal feelings not connected to larger trends and processes, teachers can help make the connections so students can see many of their families' moves as examples of more general processes. For example, the migration of family members from a rural farm area may be related to the mechanization of farming, and a shift to Florida or to Colorado may well be part of the large migration of people since World War II seeking climatic, scenic, or recreational amenities. Likewise, a family's move during the 1970s or 1980s from an industrial center like Pittsburgh or Cleveland to suburbs of a distant metropolitan area can be usefully viewed as related to both suburbanization and the decline of heavy manufacturing employment during those years. In such ways, students can see their families' participation in major historical and geographical changes.

Within any one ethnic group, the various locales of concentration shown on the map are often interconnected by migrations of members of the group. Although generally not known outside the ethnic group, most such settlements are linked with others by frequent phone calls, visits, and migrations. These spatial connections between the various settlements of an ethnic group are widespread and kept alive by chain migration. Chain migration is the process by which migrants often choose a destination where friends or relatives live as a result of earlier migration to the same destination. New arrivals will find companionship and support. Because the great majority of immigrants and many U. S.-born Americans choose destinations where they have a personal contact from their village or city of origin, they thereby participate in a chain migration. The major communities of the ethnic group are part of a dynamic migration and communication system—a functional region interlinking various local ethnic communities. With electronic mail and the Internet, scattered families and ethnic communities can now keep in touch even more easily.

Characterizing the Local Area

One important by-product of teaching a geographic perspective is making students aware that the context of people's lives often differs a great deal from one place to another. The nature of adult and teenager jobs, lifestyles, recreation, and religion can vary geographically. Ethnic composition is just one characteristic that can vary by locality or region, and the specific ethnic groups that are most numerous in an area often reflect the economic history of that area.

The ethnic composition of each county in the U. S. as of 1980 is shown in Appendix 1 of *We the People* (Allen and Turner 1988). The basic ethnic proportions in counties change slowly, so in nearly all cases the 1980 data are satisfactory. The text of *We the People* also describes the histori-

cal economic contexts of many places as they relate to ethnic group settlement; and the map showing the predominant or numerically largest ethnic group in each county (page 210) indicates regional variations in ethnic composition.

In the map of the New England states (Fig. 16.1), for example, the relative strength of English ancestry over most of the northern counties reflects the rural farm heritage of descendants of the Puritans and Pilgrims. At the far northern end of Maine along the Canadian border, however, is a rural French population whose roots in that area date to the late 1700s. In contrast, southern New England and the few cities of the north had become strongly industrial by about 1900.

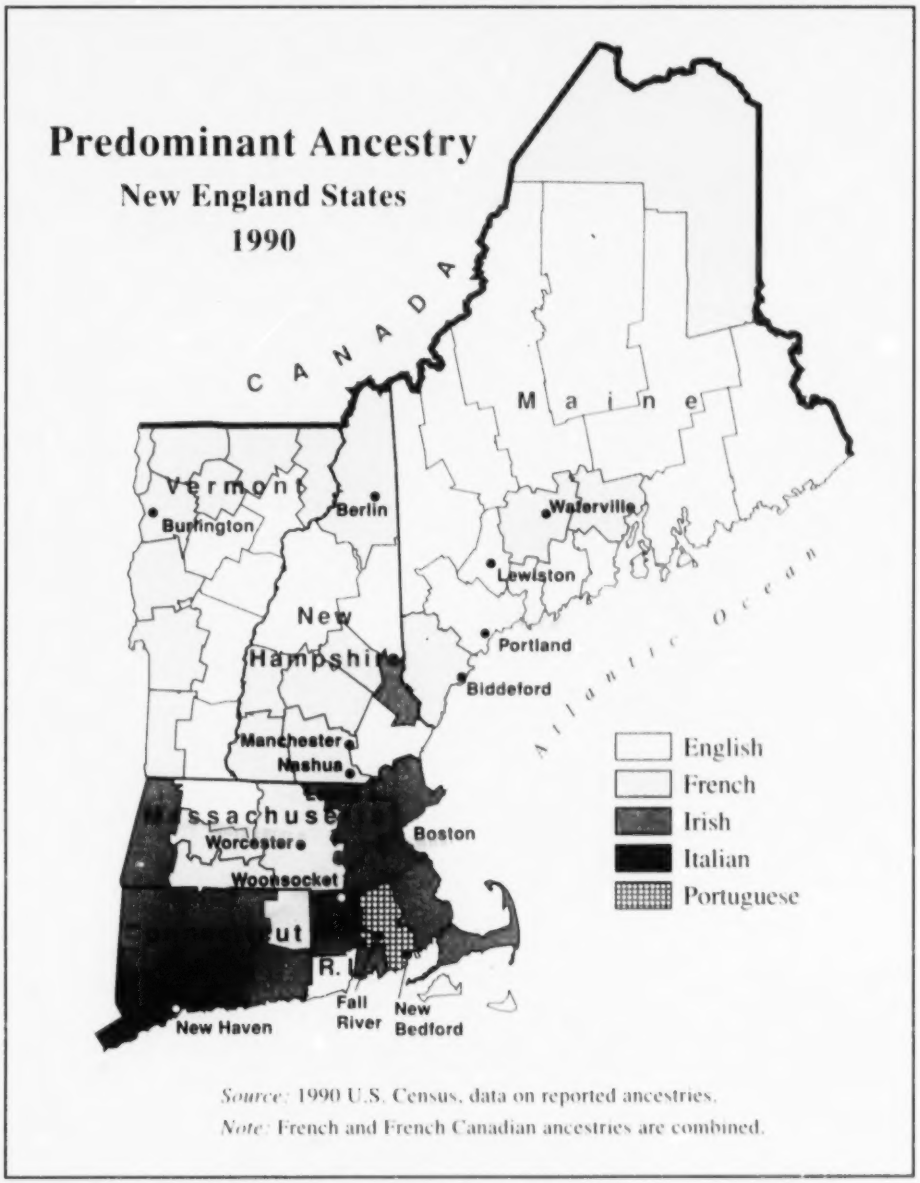

Figure 16.1 Predominant Ancestry, New England States, 1990 (Based on a map, "Ethnic Geography," in the (forthcoming), *Encyclopedia of New England Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Manufacturing and construction work attracted French Canadian immigrants from Quebec and from Ireland, Italy, and elsewhere. The result of this in-migration is that the English-ancestry culture that dominated southern New England during the colonial period is now proportionately strongest in the poorer and less populated areas of the northern states. People of ancestries other than English now predominate in all the cities and suburbs. Moreover, the strength of the Irish heritage in eastern Massachusetts means that the Celtics is a highly appropriate name for Boston's National Basketball Association team.

Ethnic Patterns in Neighborhoods

Nothing else is comparable to U. S. census data for characterizing the residents of different neighborhoods and for creating maps that describe those patterns. As such, these data are indispensable for local area businesses, government agencies, and scholarly research. Teachers, however, normally find census data for neighborhoods only at larger libraries in published volumes or on CD-ROM. In the future it should be possible to download neighborhood census data from the Internet. Alternatively, students can create neighborhood maps by pooling their direct observations or the perceptions of their parents about neighborhood characteristics and boundaries.

Local Area Census Data

In U. S. census terminology, neighborhoods are called census tracts and are given an individual identifying number. Tract numbers and their locations in terms of boundary streets are found on census tract maps at larger public libraries.

The point of learning the numbers of the tracts of interest is, of course, to be able to use the various tables that show a great many characteristics of the residents. In addition to detailed counts of the number of people of different race, Hispanic, and ancestry groups, the census is by far the best source for such important information as occupation, level of education, income, home ownership, immigrants, and proficiency in speaking English. For intriguing comparisons between the population in the neighborhood or larger school area and the larger city or county, it is a good idea to copy the same information for both the tracts of special interest and the city or county as a whole.

All these data are in published volumes titled *Population and Housing Characteristics for Census Tracts and Block Numbering Areas* (U. S. Bureau of the Census 1993) for each metropolitan area or on CD-ROMS labeled STF1 and STF3 data. In the published volumes, race and Hispanic-origin group numbers are in Table 8, and ancestry data are in Table 16. After returning from the library with copies of tract locations and raw primary data, teachers can lead their classes in discussing the nature of the data, which characteristics they should map, and what mapping techniques they should use.

Contemporary ethnic distributions at the scale of census tracts tend not to show sharp differences between adjacent neighborhoods. This blurring of ethnic patterns is because neighborhoods are less important focuses of life than they were in times past, and racial segregation has tended to diminish. More distinct ethnic differentiation, however, may occur where the type and price of housing changes between neighborhoods or where ethnic groups differ in income. The ethnic composition of tracts of mostly single-family houses can, therefore, differ from that of tracts with mostly apartments. The same is often the case for tracts with less expensive homes near industrial areas compared to tracts located near an attractive lake or on a hill.

Describing Local Ethnic Diversity

Because the ethnic spatial patterning within the various neighborhoods of student residence is usually weak, it may be more interesting and provocative to focus on related matters rather than map patterns themselves. First, students now have the data to examine the range of ethnic identities present in their area's population. By simply listing the census-defined race, Hispanic, and

ancestry groups together with the numbers of people who identified themselves in each of these categories, students can grasp the ethnic diversity in their area more completely than is normally possible. Because most students' circles of acquaintances tap only a small portion of this diversity, they may find the diversity much greater than they had imagined.

At this point, the ethnic diversity of residents in the school's territory can easily be compared with the diversity in the city or an appropriate larger place. Because of the difference in population size of the two areas, the composition of the two areas can be compared only after conversion of absolute numbers to percentages. This necessary step is very common in examining data for two or more geographical areas; it is most easily done on a computer using simple spreadsheet software. Keeping the data sets for the two places separate, students simply divide the number of people listed as being in each ethnic group by the total population of the appropriate area. After calculating the percentage of various ethnic groups in the two areas, students may learn, for instance, that Koreans, people of Mexican origin, and those of Irish ancestry are more common in their school territory than in the city as a whole.

Class discussions can lead to greater awareness of ethnic differences in educational attainment and English-language skills, relative recency of immigration, and type of employment—all of which affect people's earnings and their ability to rent or buy housing in certain areas. In addition, ethnic differences from one part of a city to another can reflect past chain migration—the tendency of migrants, and especially new immigrants, to locate near friends and relatives who can help them adjust to their new surroundings.

The Meaning of Community

Another way to examine the meaning of ethnic identity and local places is to think about the meaning of the word community. Although each neighborhood or school territory contains people with backgrounds of somewhat varied ethnic, religious, and social class, how strong is the shared sense of community among residents of specific neighborhoods? Can communities be defined in terms of neighborhoods and larger local places? If such geographically based communities are not strong, perhaps class, occupation, ethnic, or religious groups—regardless of residential location of members—are the more important communities in modern America. This scenario means that the real communities may pull together people who are very rich, poor, employed by a particular large local company, or who work as engineers or teachers, or those who are African American, Mexican American, Catholic, Mormon, or Jewish.

Conclusion

I have suggested specific ways of using maps at a range of scales to illuminate aspects of American ethnic geography. To involve the students in learning, students can personalize maps by linking patterns to family histories or to local areas.

Students can easily map the migrations of their families on a world map and use them to depict larger patterns in geography and history. Within the United States, county-level maps in *We the People* show areal differences in ethnic composition, and some family migration histories illustrate chain migrations that often interconnect a single ethnic population living in far-flung places. In local areas, examining the ethnic composition of neighborhoods compared to the entire city or larger area can lead to discussions about the reasons why neighborhoods differ in ethnic character.

Altogether, the suggestions presented here attempt to treat maps as not so much an end in themselves but as catalysts for discussion about the social, economic, and political processes that ultimately produced the patterns on the maps and give them meaning.

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CHAPTER 17

Geoethnic Family Histories

Curtis C. Roseman and J. Diego Vigil

As a geographer and an anthropologist, we have collaborated in the design and instruction of an interdisciplinary course called "Ethnicity and Place." The course explores the intersection between two phenomena: (1) various ethnic characteristics and processes, and (2) migration, place, and other geographic dimensions of life. In the course we examine ethnic identity and ethnic experiences, including ethnic conflict, within their locational contexts. We explore how individual and group ethnic characteristics, such as race, religion, and language, take on different meanings in different locational settings, and how migration to or from various settings can influence ethnic identity.

As part of this course (and also as part of a separate human geography course) we ask students to compile and interpret their individual *geoethnic family histories.* Students first trace their family histories back at least two generations. In addition to standard genealogical data, such as dates of various life events, they collect as much information as possible on geographic and ethnic (geoethnic) aspects of their families.

Students then write papers that interpret their families' histories using various ethnic and locational concepts. In the Ethnicity and Place course this activity is the core of the class, occupying much discussion time in class. Early in the semester, students present to the class the basics of their family histories in raw data form. Later in the semester, having received feedback from class discussions and the instructors, each student presents an interpretation of the family history, which is the core analysis for the paper. In the Introduction to Human Geography course, the activity is more limited because ethnicity is covered in only about three weeks of the semester. Nonetheless, students make one oral presentation and write the geoethnic family histories as the major paper.

In the next section of this chapter, we describe our methods for collecting geoethnic family histories. In two subsequent sections, we discuss some of the ethnic, then geographic, concepts that we find important, interesting, and useful for students engaged in this activity.

Collecting Geoethnic Family Histories

The geoethnic family history is more than a conventional family tree because it emphasizes the identification of a variety of ethnic and place characteristics of family members. We provide students with a simple template (Fig. 17.1) to be used as a guideline for the collection of data. Each template focuses on one person (at the bottom) and his or her two parents (at the top). Thus, three templates are needed to reach back to four grandparents (eight to reach all great grandparents, and so forth).

Although in most cases the templates do not provide enough room for all the information collected, they serve as checklists for the types of information sought. In particular, they remind students to collect both static and dynamic information on ethnicity, ethnic identity, and location. Changes in characteristics such as language and religion are particularly revealing for the analysis of ethnic processes, as are residential locational changes. We also encourage students to explore collective and community contexts of their individual geoethnic family histories. These include the ethnic composition of neighborhoods in which family members have lived along with cultural and social customs that reflect ethnic traditions in those places.

We assign the activity at the very beginning of the semester to provide students with enough time to collect data. We emphasize the need to talk with as many family members as possible. In many cases interviews must be conducted by telephone or mail. Because some students are not

Father of Person A	**Mother of Person A**
Name _____	_____
Birth Date _____	_____
Birth Place _____	_____
Religion _____	_____
Language(s) _____	_____

Other ethnic information on each person:

Places where each lived as a child (and date of moves):

Date, place where the above couple met:

Date, place of marriage:

Other places (dates) where the couple lived:

Language, religion, other ethnic changes:

Names, birthplaces, and birth dates of children (including person A):

Person A: Ethnic characteristics and experiences:

Places lived and dates of moves:

Figure 17.1. Template for recording geoethnic family history information.

able to trace particular branches of their family trees, we encourage them to explore one branch in greater detail and time depth.

In class we discuss specific methods used in the collection of data. Lengthy interviews sometimes are necessary to cull the required information, especially from elderly relatives. To help interviewees recall times and places, students often have to remind them to connect different life events in time and space. For example, a person may remember the year she moved from one community to another only after discussion revealed that it occurred just after the birth of a grandson, the date of which can be easily established by the student. Using time and space as a framework for identifying and linking life events is an important part of this project. In addition to interviews, photographs and other family documents may be very useful.

Most students encounter little difficulty gathering enough information for this activity. Students are very much interested in the project and typically find enthusiasm or at least a willingness among relatives to help. Some find a relative who can provide basic genealogical data on the family, providing time and space anchor points in the family history that aid in additional interviews and data collection. In the class discussion of the raw data collected from these interviews, the instructors provide guidelines and suggestions for interpretation, some of which we discuss in the next sections of this chapter.

In their final papers, students must draw upon relevant literature in ethnicity and geography (examples of which are listed at the end of this chapter). We also encourage students to refer to atlases or ethnic and cultural maps to provide further context for their discussions and to construct maps as part of their analysis.

In some classes, the instructors also have aggregated data from the family histories of all the students for analysis. One favorite analysis uses three simple world (or national) maps showing where grandparents, parents, and students were born and reared. Another shows—on what can be a rather noisy map—an arrow connecting migration origins and destinations for every migration of every member of all the student's family histories. Discussions of these analyses help students make direct links to broad national or world migration patterns that have been important in the past. Other collective analyses are possible, including: comparing age of marriage and ages at which mothers gave birth during different generations; calculating the infant death rates for families in the nineteenth versus the twentieth century or in rural versus urban settings; describing the timing and nature of language shift among immigrants and their offspring; and graphing migration events versus the age of the migrant.

These aggregate analyses (along with the individual geoethnic family histories) have been particularly interesting for us because of the highly diverse student body at the University of Southern California. It includes thousands of international students, especially from Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America, along with American students having family roots in all corners of the globe.

The Ethnic in Geoethnic Family Histories

Ethnic is a word derived from the Greek *ethnos*, meaning race or people from a racial group. Modern usage favors a much broader concept that also captures the essence of a people's origins, lifeways, customs, and habits. We emphasize four broad dimensions of ethnicity and ethnic identity: cultural characteristics such as language and religion; a sense of a common historical and geographical origin; physical characteristics such as race; and structural characteristics that include economic status, territoriality, and societal or spatial marginalization.

Each of these facets of ethnicity can be viewed as one side of a prism, a metaphoric cultural prism that turns in different ways at different times. The prism is like a kaleidoscope that aligns the shapes and colors differently each time we view it, even though the same pieces constitute the image. Thus, understanding ethnic identities in a family is a complex, multidimensional exercise that requires careful examination of many sides of the prism.

We emphasize both *insider* and *outsider* views of ethnicity and ethnic identity. Individual family

members—insiders—may have strong feelings about the nature of their ethnic characteristics, pride in their heritage, or bitterness about how others have treated their group in various times and places. Outsiders take snapshots of ethnic groups, often stereotyping individuals on the basis of myths or misunderstandings about the broader group to which they belong. Broad societal forces also shape the ethnic identity of particular groups, especially minority or immigrant groups, sometimes in a positive way, often in a negative way.

Students have the opportunity to take both insider and outsider views of their family ethnic traditions and patterns. On the one hand, they can analyze family ethnicity as a member of that family. On the other hand, they are armed with concepts that constitute a framework within which they can interpret their family experiences from an outsider's view.

One of those concepts is *ethnocentrism,* or the tendency for people to view their ethnicity, their lifeways, as central to human life. Ethnocentrism includes feeling comfortable and positive with the sights, smells, sounds, and symbols of one's ethnic group. A corollary to this belief is to harbor negative thoughts about other ethnic groups. We discuss the notion that humankind is subject to this type of bias, and all of us probably harbor such feelings. We instruct our students to reflect consciously and plumb the meaning of their own ethnocentrism. We also encourage them to consider malignant *ethnocentrism,* which occurs when prejudicial and discriminatory thoughts and feelings are translated into action to advance one's own ethnic group at the expense of another.

Of the many ethnic characteristics and dynamics that students might address, we discuss three here: race and racism, religion, and language.

Race and Racism

Race and racism are crucial to the experiences of people of color in American society. Some of our African-American and Native-American students, for example, have given primacy to these concepts in the analyses of their geoethnic family histories. We also require white students to explore the privileges that come with a status based on physical appearance. More important, for all students, we strongly recommend that they should examine racial hybridization as part of their heritage. Most people are not *pure* anything. Even variations in physiognomic traits among European-origin families can be interesting and revealing.

We suggest that students examine family photographs to analyze these characteristics. Shoe boxes filled with photos from the past can be found in many family homes. This strategy can provide multiple dividends. First, tracing racial appearances back through the generations can provide clues as to where and when racial and feature distinctions appeared (or disappeared). Second, other collateral information is invariably discovered while reviewing photographs with family members. Who was in the photo, where and when it was taken, and a whole series of other questions can ensue, leading the discussion to sometimes sensitive but often provocative personal information and insights. Through this process it may be possible to reveal past feelings and experiences of the family member. He or she, for example, may recount incidents of malignant ethnocentrism that occurred in a past time and place. Or some family secret may unravel with telltale photos showing rather interesting physical changes.

Religion

Most students are able to uncover some fascinating aspects of *religion* in their family histories. In addition to religious denomination, status, and participation, it is possible to analyze the deeper qualities of religion. For instance, did religion play a pervasive or a superficial role in the everyday lives of family members, and did significant religious shifts occur at particular times and places, such as with marriage? In tracing family trees, some students discover a hodgepodge of religious high and low points or spiritual shifts or meanderings that are quite surprising.

Language and Language Shift

Language and language shift are particularly important in our classes because many of our stu-

dents are first-generation English speakers. Others, however, typically find another language spoken two or three generations back, or identify important regional accents or dialects in their family histories. Which family members shifted from one language to another, and under what circumstances did they do so, are important questions to consider. Also, did family members face discrimination or other problems as the result of the language they spoke (or did not speak) in particular time and place contexts? Similar to racial mixtures, some students discover language amalgamations and blendings, such as *Spanglish* spoken among some Mexican Americans.

The Geo in Geoethnic Family Histories

In general, we encourage students to interpret all their data in terms of their time and place contexts. Language shift or religious change may go hand-in-hand with migration from one place to another, across the globe, or across town from one neighborhood to another. Racial prejudice directed toward family members might also change with location. To facilitate the explicit incorporation of geography into each analysis, we employ two major geographic elements: a focus on the characteristics of *places* in which family members lived, and an analysis of the nature of migration of family members.

Students should routinely solicit *place characteristics* and experiences in interviews with family members. A beginning is to ask the insider question of what was it like to grow up in the San Fernando Valley, or in Louisiana, Sonora, or Taiwan? One of our students wrote an excellent paper that focused primarily on the childhood experiences of her grandmother, her mother, and herself. An African American, she found striking contrasts across the three generations. Her grandmother grew up in the 1930s in the rural South, her mother in the Los Angeles Ghetto in the 1950s, and she in suburban Los Angeles in the 1970s. The locational contexts were fundamental to other contrasts she discovered such as racial prejudice, potential for educational achievement, and class relations.

We encourage our students to collect census and other data on communities in which family members have lived. Most large libraries have United States census data that describe towns or counties back to the turn of the century, and census tracts in cities at least back to 1950. Aggregate data usually include racial, birthplace, age, and other socioeconomic information. Ancestry data, however, are not easily available before 1980, and definitions of "race" and "Hispanic" origin have changed from census to census. In addition, manuscript census data that show the original individual census records are available for census years up to 1920.

To help students, we conduct class reviews of various census measures of ethnicity and how they have changed over time. In addition, local histories can be found for many communities. Sometimes a relative who still resides in a town or neighborhood in which the family lived is interested in helping the student find historical information about that community.

Migration is fundamental to ethnic change. We ask students to record all major residential changes at all spatial scales. Even seasonal movements, such as labor migration or movement to and from a college or university, can be important. Some of our students, for example, have parents or grandparents who at one time were migrant workers moving seasonally between Mexico and the United States. This cyclical migration process was often a precursor to subsequent permanent migration of family members to the United States, and in some cases the spatial paths worn by the migrant workers explained the permanent migration destination choice.

In geoethnic family histories, migration can be interpreted in at least two ways, as an *individual* or *family process*, or in terms of broader migration patterns. We spend some time discussing basic migration concepts that might explain why, when, and where individuals move. One such concept links migration to age. Life-course transitions can trigger migration: going to college, getting a new job, getting married, and so forth. Because they experience several such life changes, young adults are most prone to migrate. Young children migrate more than older children because they are dragged along by young adult parents. Students also can test the notion that

longer-distance migration is often stimulated by employment or economic reasons, whereas local mobility (between neighborhoods) often reflects housing needs or household change events such as divorce, death of a spouse, or the need for assistance. Migration or other types of geographical movements might also be responsible for the first meeting of two people who later become a married couple in the family: at a college location, a place where one person was stationed in the military, or a summer holiday destination.

A favorite process that we have found to occur in many family histories is *channelized migration.* In choosing a destination, many migrants (especially from rural areas) follow friends or kin to the destination. Those already at the destination provide assistance in the acquisition of housing or jobs. This process results in strong extended family networks connecting specific destinations with specific origins. These networks, in turn, can facilitate repeated temporary movements of family members among these places, for such events as summer vacations, holiday celebrations, weddings, funerals, and the like.

Whatever the individual motivations or scale of migration, the act itself transfers people from one residential setting to another. A major theme in many geoethnic histories is the ethnic identity changes that accompany migration. Going from one place to another can allow people to express their ethnicity in new ways, stimulate rapid changes in language, religion, or other cultural behaviors, or exacerbate problems of racism, xenophobia, or discrimination.

A second way in which students can examine and interpret migration is through the lens of broad national or international migration trends and patterns. In American cities for several decades, powerful suburbanization processes have been in place. For some students from suburban areas, the question of when and why ancestors moved from the central city to a suburban environment might be relevant. For some inner-city students, the question might relate to reasons for not suburbanizing: choice, economics, or discrimination.

Broad migration patterns within the United States have included the Great Migration of African Americans from the rural South from the World War I period to the 1950s, and westward movements of people, especially of white Midwesterners, to Los Angeles in the post World War II era. When part of their families' migration experience fits within such a pattern, we encourage students to read more about the broad migration trends in order to establish the context for the explanation of the migration. Many of our African-American students who grew up in the Los Angeles area are able to trace their roots back to rural areas of East Texas or Louisiana, the general location of many past channelized flows to Los Angeles.

Similar analyses are possible for international migration, although the additional importance of *immigration policy* comes into play at this scale. Many second-generation American students have parents who immigrated after the 1965 revisions of the United States Immigration Act. These liberal adjustments opened the doors to large numbers of newcomers from Asia and Latin America. Reading about the act itself and its influences on U. S. immigration patterns is revealing to these students. Refugee policies may be relevant to some family histories as well. Several of our students have parents who came to the United States in the late 1970s as refugees from Southeast Asia. Among the students were ethnic Chinese who emigrated from Vietnam, some of whom speak several languages. The rich combination of ethnic identity, international migration, and language in their families made excellent material for papers. Not to be outdone, many white, European-origin students found family migration across the Atlantic in the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, providing an important context for the explanation of the international migration of great grandparents and earlier family members.

International students in our classes, too, have found a variety of migration types in their families. Repeated migration among several countries, migration forced by political unrest, and illegal migration have all been topics in papers written by them.

Sometimes connections between two or more geoethnic family histories provide for interesting class discussions. These include many instances of students finding common general origins of their families—the rural Midwest, the rural South, central Mexico, and specific regions within

Asian countries have all been topics of discussion. In one similar discussion, it was not the origin (locationally or ethnically), but instead the path of migration that was shared. An African-American student traced her family back to East Texas and established that her grandfather had moved first to El Paso, Texas for a brief stay, then on to Los Angeles in the 1920s. In the same class, a Mexican American traced her origins to central Mexico. Her grandparents had moved north to Ciudad Juarez, across the border from El Paso, then immigrated to El Paso and moved on to Los Angeles. Both migrations from El Paso to Los Angeles occurred in the same year. Given that most long distance travel at the time was by train, we speculated that both had taken the same train line (the main Southern Pacific line), perhaps even the same train.

Conclusion

The geoethnic family history activity is easy to conduct, highly flexible, and evokes enthusiasm from most students who participate. The instructors also have a wonderful time observing the variety of ethnic and place experiences that are revealed in the analysis, and the material stimulates interesting discussions. Most of all, students learn new ways of thinking about ethnicity and place.

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CHAPTER 18

Teaching American Ethnic Geography through Popular Film

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Most people enjoy watching good movies. Because of their wide appeal, popular films can be powerful vehicles to teach geography, particularly the ethnic geography of the United States. Numerous popular films have portrayed ethnic groups in the United States. Sometimes these portrayals are accurate, but many times the movies are filled with stereotypes and erroneous information about ethnic groups and their cultures. In either case, geography instructors can draw important teaching points from popular films about American ethnic groups.

I briefly share here some simple strategies in using popular films to teach American ethnic geography. I discuss viewing methods for film assignments, critical thinking avenues, and intended outcomes. I also offer a short list of some of films I have shown over the past several years and questions for each film that instructors may use to evoke thoughts from their students.

Viewing Methods

I have used four methods for presenting popular films to students in my American ethnic geography classes (class sizes ranging to about fifty): (1) viewing an entire film outside of class, (2) viewing an entire film in class, (3) viewing film clips in class, and (4) viewing an entire film outside of class and then viewing film clips in class. Each of these viewing methods has its positive and negative points.

Viewing an Entire Film outside of Class

Viewing an entire film outside of class allows students the flexibility to see the film at their convenience, perhaps with several of their friends or family members in a shared experience or simply snuggled in bed with a bowl of popcorn. The method allows students to review parts of the film whenever they wish, thereby enabling a better understanding of the film's subtleties. Film viewing outside of class also opens the possibility for groups of students to view different films, which may provide for a wider range of ideas to be brought into class discussion, especially those used for comparative analysis. Viewing a film outside of class, however, does not allow for thoughts and questions from the instructor to make important teaching points at particular places in the film. The method likewise does not permit the class to share their thoughts as the film unfolds nor to share a common experience that sometimes becomes a significant bonding phenomenon for people.

Viewing an Entire Film in Class

Viewing an entire film in class enables instructor-student interaction and instant feedback as the film can be stopped to comment on important elements of ethnic geography. Students share a common experience and place all events of the story line in the full context of the film. Class follow-on discussion ensures continuity in that all students participated in viewing the film at the same time and in the same environment. The major drawback of this method is that showing entire films in class consumes large blocks of class time, so instructors may be limited in the number of films they can show during a course. Students also are unable to review certain parts of a film because of time constraints.

Viewing Film Clips in Class

Viewing film clips in class does not allow students to experience the richness of all the film and

requires instructors to integrate carefully each film segment shown into the context of the entire film. When showing film clips, instructors can carefully select the concepts they wish to present, the time and sequence of presentation, and the time they wish to allot to each concept. To improve students' understanding of mid-twentieth-century Southern culture, an instructor might then show the scene in *Driving Miss Daisy* where two white Alabama state troopers make derogatory remarks about Daisy, a Jewish lady, and Hoke, her African-American chauffeur; or a clip showing Lin Xiao's abusive behavior to Ying Ying in *The Joy Luck Club* as an expression of the continued dominance of Chinese wives by their husbands in their new American home; or the sight of Joe Mondragon kicking open a water sluice in the mountains of northern New Mexico, thereby causing a heated Hispano-Anglo water controversy in *The Milagro Beanfield War* and underscoring the centuries of ethnic conflict in the American West; or the climax in *Do the Right Thing* when Sal's Famous Pizzeria in an African-American Brooklyn neighborhood is set on fire as a result of the hatred and violence that depicts the socioeconomic frustrations of many American ethnic groups today.

Viewing Films outside of Class—Reviewing via Film Clips in Class

Perhaps the optimum method is the combination of having students view films outside of class and then reviewing the important points of ethnic geography via film clips shown in class. This strategy incorporates the strengths of the two previous methods while diminishing their weaknesses.

Avenues of Critical Thinking

After viewing each film, each student composes a two-page essay about the film's ethnic geography. Where appropriate to each film, the essay must include such important concepts of ethnic geography as ethnic ascription, perception, migration, "white flight," acculturation, assimilation, discrimination, segregation, ethnic island, ghetto, gentrification, or ethnic landscape. For example, in the film *Do the Right Thing*, students should note such ideas as the perception of one ethnic group about another, the white flight of an ethnic group and its remaining relict commercial feature, the entrance of a new ethnic group into the neighborhood for business opportunity, the acceptance of one ethnic group almost completely by another, and the violence caused by the hatred of one ethnic group toward another that ultimately changes the ethnic landscape of the place.

Students turn in their essays a class period before they discuss the film so they have had time to digest what they have written, thereby having time to prepare for discussing their ideas. The instructor guides the students through the possible minefields of stereotypes in the film and ensures that students thoroughly discuss major points about the spatial aspects of the ethnic groups, perhaps evoking students' personal experiences and leading to vigorous academic debate. Viewing a popular film can set the stage for critical thinking about concepts of ethnic geography in settings of human conflict and dilemmas.

Pedagogical Outcomes

Through the process of viewing and interpreting, both in writing and verbally, popular films about American ethnic groups, students are led to: (1) ask geographical questions about the films, (2) acquire geographic information from each film, (3) organize the information within the framework of important concepts regarding ethnic geography, (4) formulate hypotheses about possible explanations, and (5) produce reasonable answers to questions about American ethnic groups and their geographical experiences via their analyses and the instructor's guidance.

Ten Examples of Popular Films and Suggested Questions

1. *Black Robe* (Native Americans, French) (1991, 100 minutes, rated R). Although the setting for this film is mostly present-day southern Canada, the motion picture is probably the most authentic piece depicting Native Americans at the time of European contact. Against spectacular landscapes, the plot centers on a Jesuit priest and his encounters with Huron Indians and their archenemies, the Iroquois.
   Questions:
   a. What are the relationships between Native-American tribes at the time of European contact?
   b. What are the early relationships between the French missionaries and the Native Americans?
   c. What are some of the Native-American customs that the French priest could not understand?

2. *Dances with Wolves* (Native Americans, Anglos) (1990, 181 minutes, rated PG-13). This film won seven Academy Awards, including Best Picture and Best Cinematography. The film is about the spiritual transformation of a former Union Civil War soldier into a Sioux tribesman.
   Questions:
   a. What are the initial relationships between the white soldier and the Sioux?
   b. What is the importance of the buffalo in the life of the Sioux?
   c. What is the most significant symbol of the soldier's assimilation into the Sioux culture?

3. *Do the Right Thing* (African Americans, Italians, Koreans, Puerto Ricans) (1989, 120 minutes, rated R). This controversial Spike Lee film looks at a day in the life of an African-American neighborhood in Brooklyn. Ethnic tension centers on an Italian pizzeria and its Wall of Fame that are burned in the film's climax in a fury of hatred and violence.
   Questions:
   a. What are the ethnic features in the urban landscape of the film?
   b. Why are an Italian pizzeria and a Korean grocery store located in an African-American neighborhood?
   c. What are the most flagrant racist events in the film.

4. *Driving Miss Daisy* (African Americans, Jews, Anglos) (1989, 99 minutes, rated PG). This film won Academy Awards for exploring the 25-year relationship (1948-1973) between a wealthy Jewish lady and her African-American chauffeur in Atlanta.
   Questions:
   a. How are Jews viewed by urban Southerners in the mid-twentieth century, and how do Jews respond to the much larger non-Jewish community?
   b. How are African Americans treated at this time in the South, and are there any indications in the film that they had made socioeconomic gains through the years?
   c. In which ways can the relationship between the wealthy Jewish lady and her uneducated African-American chauffeur offer possible solutions to ethnic misunderstandings and tensions?

5. *Fried Green Tomatoes* (Anglos, African Americans) (1991, 130 minutes, rated PG-13). Flashing back from present-day suburban Alabama to the main characters who live in a small 1930s railroad town, this thoughtful movie tells a story of women trying to cope with Southern life then and now.

Questions:
a. How does bigotry play a role in the film?
b. In which ways are the relationships between white women and African Americans different from those of white men and African Americans?
c. How do ethnic foods in the film underscore the flavor of the Southern culture?

6. *Glory* (African Americans, Anglos) (1989, 122 minutes, rated R). This film relives the footsteps of the 54th Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, the first African-American Civil War unit, and its white leaders as they prepare for and then attack the impregnable Confederate Fort Wagner in South Carolina.
Questions:
a. How are African-American soldiers treated in the Northern Army?
b. What does it mean when white troops cheered African-American soldiers as they went into battle?
c. What does the attack on Fort Wagner say about the commitment of African Americans to freedom?

7. *The Joy Luck Club* (Asians) (1993, 138 minutes, rated R). The film is a group of poignant stories about four immigrant Chinese women who are links between Chinese and American cultures for their daughters during the first half of this century.
Questions:
a. What Chinese culture traits do the four women of the Joy Luck Club maintain?
b. How much do the Chinese women's children embrace the new American culture?
c. How do the relationships between Chinese men and women differ from China to the United States?

8. *La Bamba* (Latinos, Anglos) (1987, 106 minutes, rated PG-13). Ritchie Valens's (born Richard Valenzuela) rise to rock and roll music stardom is the focus of this movie, but it also chronicles the difficulties faced by a Latino family in California during the 1950s.
Questions:
a. What types of ethnic discrimination does the film show?
b. Which of the two brothers remains more committed to his Latino roots?
c. What does the song La Bamba symbolize in the movie?

9. *Milagro Beanfield War* (Hispanos, Anglos) (1988, 115 minutes, rated R). Robert Redford produces a colorful film that encapsulates the long struggle between Hispanos and Anglos for control of the land and the water in northern New Mexico.
Questions:
a. What are the contrasting visions of the Anglo developer and the Hispano farmer?
b. What is the powerful symbolism produced when Joe Mondragon diverts water onto his bean field?
c. What features of the Hispano ethnic landscape remain in the small mountain village?

10. *Stand and Deliver* (Latinos, Anglos) (1988, 103 minutes, rated PG). Jaime Escalante, a high-school teacher in East Los Angeles, is the principal character in a film that shows how a caring teacher can dramatically change students' lives.
Questions:
a. What are some of the ethnic landscape features in East Los Angeles that emphasize its Latino heritage?
b. From the actions of the students at Garfield High School, what kind of life do they lead in their neighborhoods?

c. What kind of discrimination demeans the Latino students in the film?

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